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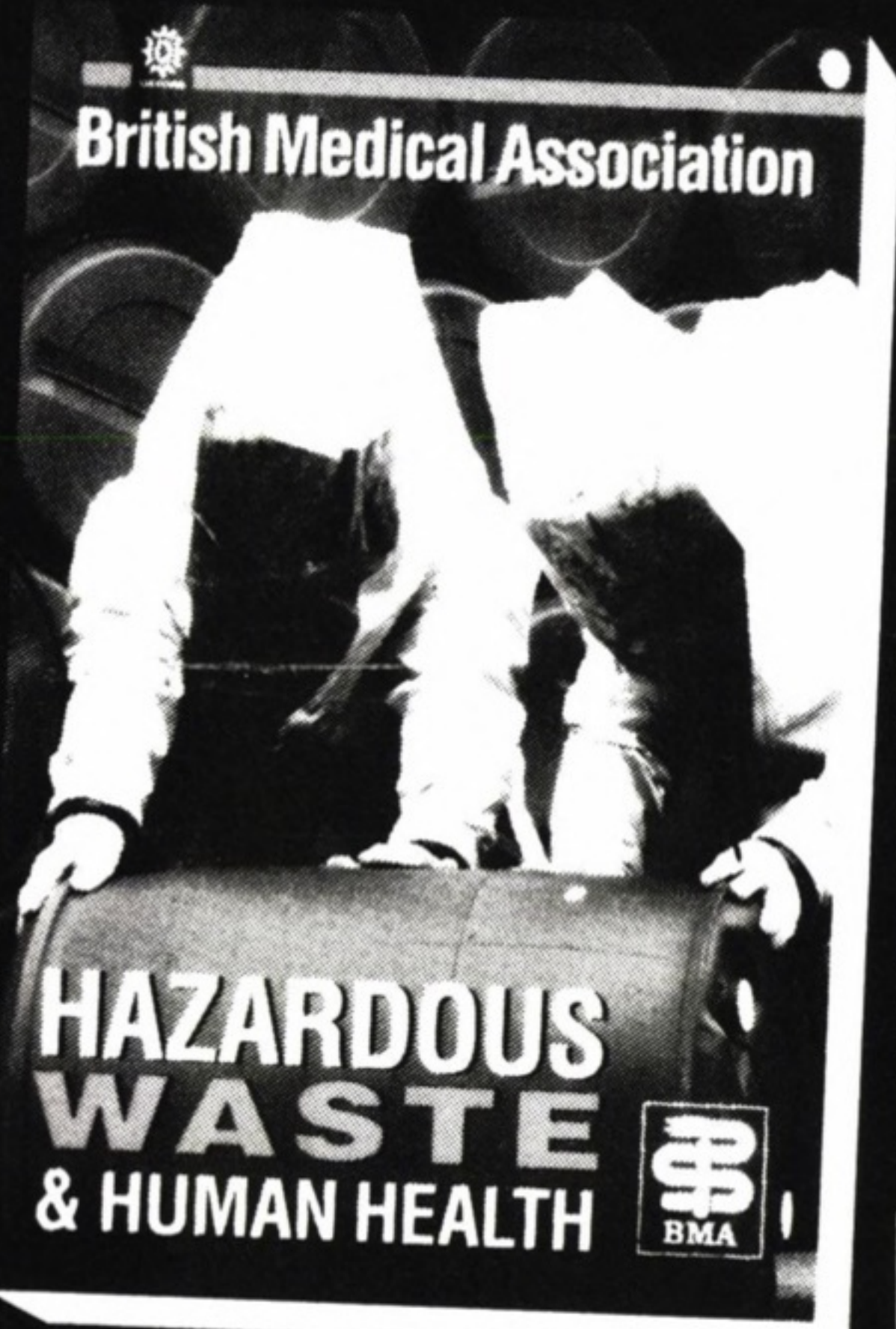
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We hope that the lucky winner will enjoy and appreciate this opportunity, and gain a special insight into a Third World community.

The draw will take place on October 28th 1991; the winning number will be chosen by Tom Butler, the Bishop of Leicester. All New Internationalist UK subscribers will automatically be entered. The winner will be notified by post and announced in the January issue of NI. If the winner is unable to take up the prize, another number will be drawn.

Design: Asante scraped calabash and lizard design from Ghana

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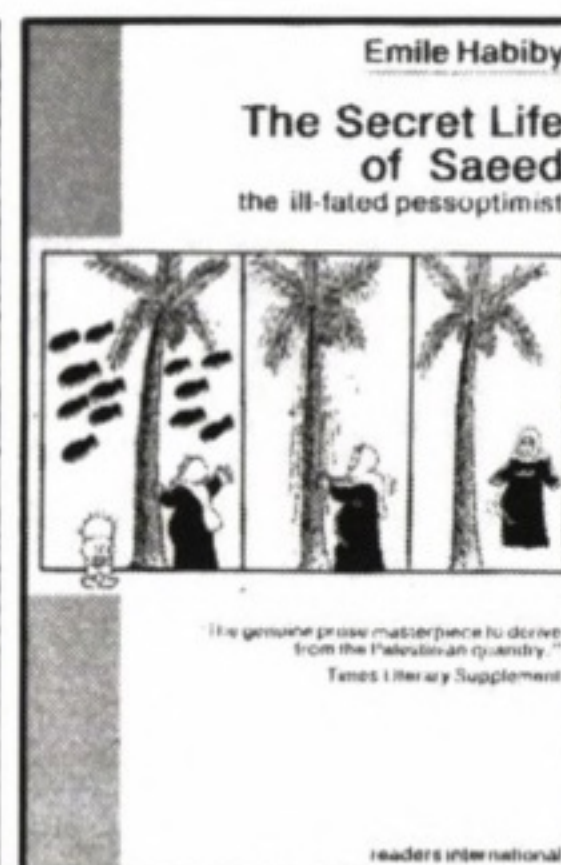
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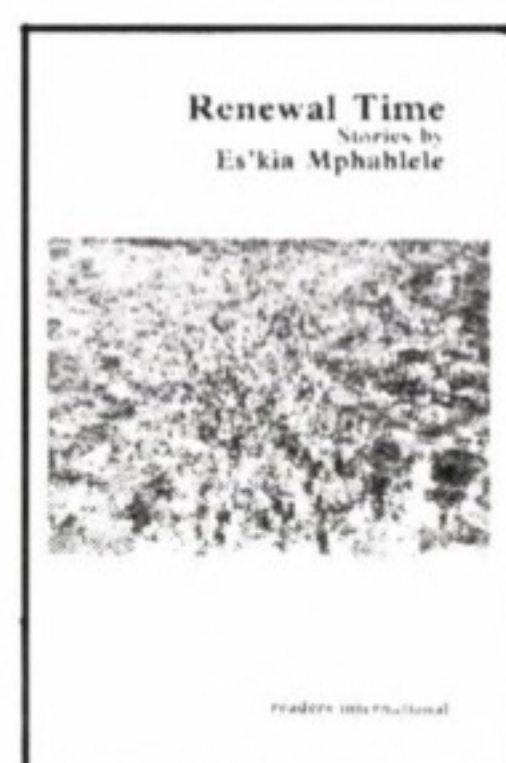
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THIS MONTH'S THEME

Refugees

FROM THIS MONTH'S EDITOR

THIS has been an exceptionally exciting magazine to edit because we have devised it with the International Broadcasting Trust (IBT) and Channel 4 to accompany a series of four television programmes called 'The Dispossessed'. The first one will be screened on Wednesday, September 4 on Channel 4 at 9 pm.

We recommend that you view this series, an IBT/YTV co-production which was filmed by Yorkshire Television's 'First Tuesday' team. It lives up to their reputation for powerful investigative documentaries. And there are plans to show it in many parts of Europe and North America as well as the Third World.

This magazine has been constructed to complement the series by providing interested viewers with a deeper understanding of the issues. Getting it together has been a complicated process.

Just before NI held its annual meeting last October to decide topics for the following year's magazines, IBT told us that they were planning a series of films on refugees for Channel 4 and suggested we do an issue to coincide with it. With this in mind we scheduled a magazine on refugees.

The relationship took another step forward when I visited the IBT team in London while I was doing the preliminary research for this issue.

Within minutes of my arrival it became apparent that we were planning to campaign about such similar areas that it made sense for us to work together. Back in Oxford, my colleagues at NI were enthused by the idea. This seemed a golden opportunity to try something new, especially as it presented itself, quite coincidentally, with the planned redesign of the NI magazine.

One meeting later NI and IBT had thrashed out exactly what our partnership might look like. And a few weeks later a group of us from both organizations visited Channel 4. The deal was clinched and the real work began.

There have been telephone calls between NI, Channel 4 and IBT for months about what sorts of articles we should carry and what information they should contain. Bits of paper have been faxed backwards and forwards until not only my desk but the whole corner where I sit looked more like a warehouse for re-cycled paper than an editor's office.

But the effort was worthwhile. Never has it been more important to draw attention to the terrible plight of the dispossessed than in this year – the fortieth anniversary of the signing of the United Nations Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees. And it makes perfect sense for those of us who care, to make ourselves heard on their behalf by speaking with a concerted voice.

My thanks to Derek Jones from Channel 4, Paddy Coulter, Lynette Aitken and Gerard Rosenberg at IBT and everyone at NI for their enduring patience. The rest dear readers, as they say, is up to you. This bumper issue of NI brings you the chance to help refugees by following up some of the ideas for action on pages 29 to 32. And we invite you to send off the postcard stitched into this issue in support of the refugee charter.



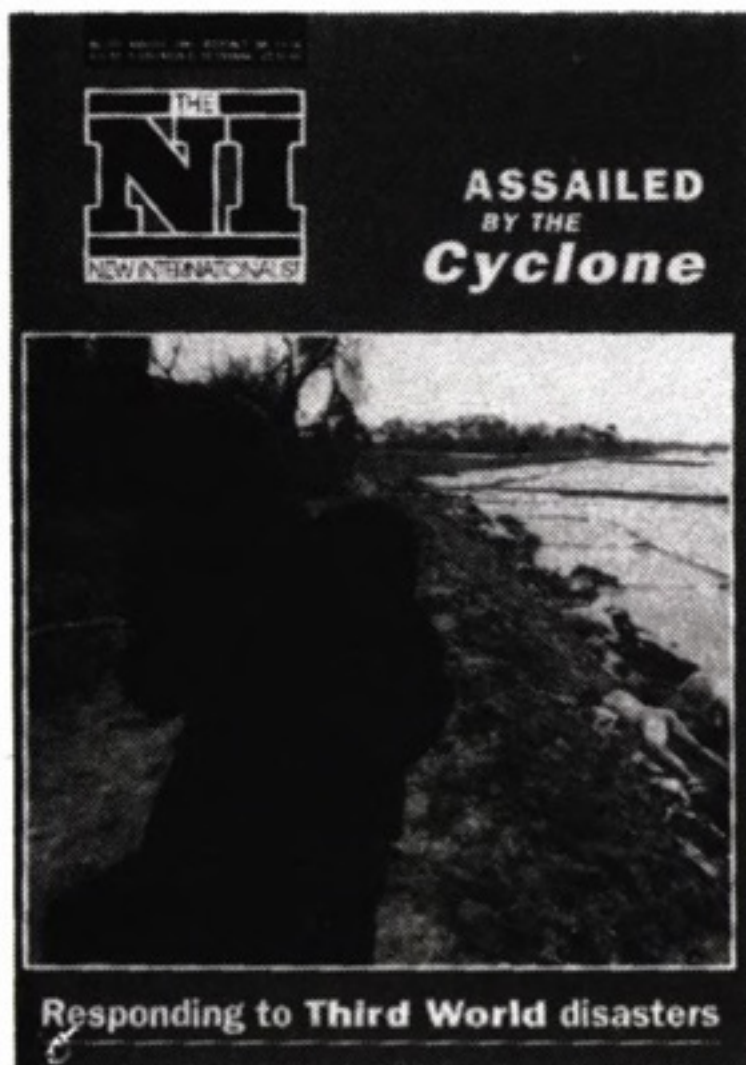
Sue Shaw

Sue Shaw
for the New Internationalist Co-operative

Hard feelings

I'm glad you managed to respond more quickly than usual to the most recent series of calamities in the Third World (*Assailed by the Cyclone NI 222*). But aren't you a bit hard on us poor NI readers?

If 'we' would rather not



know uncomfortable truths about child deaths in Bangladesh, why do we bother to read NI at all? If 'our' attention-span is so short, what's the point of going on about disasters at such great length in the magazine?

Making us feel bad about something 'we' are often working very hard to change may be truthful but it's a bit unfair – especially when in other respects this issue is such a rewarding read.

Leo Ashurst,
Bideford, UK

Noble savage

Once again I am writing to complain about the *Letter from Tamil Nadu (NI 221)*. This time we were treated to the classic cliché of the 'noble savage'.

The tribal people of South India apparently do not need to learn how to read because for them the spoken word is sufficiently reliable. Their way of life is portrayed as 'uncorrupted by outside values and standards', implying that literacy would introduce corrupting influences.

Mari Marcel knows that it is because of their illiteracy that it has been possible for the tribals' land to be taken from them. Yet instead of trying to convince them that literacy is a means of defending themselves, she and



The **New Internationalist** welcomes your letters. But please keep them short. They may be edited for purposes of space or clarity. Include a home telephone number if possible and send your letters to the nearest editorial office. The address is inside the front cover.

her husband find themselves unable to answer the first simple questions that an old tribal man asks them.

Pete and Sue Somerville
Manchester, UK

Grim grip

I enjoyed reading NI 221 on *The armed agenda*. Just one little point about Namibia which you omitted in your *Country Profile*.

Walvis Bay which is the principal port for Namibia is officially part of, and controlled directly by, South Africa. This makes Namibian 'independence' less obvious than it might first appear when looking at a map.

David Somerville
Bradford UK

Briefly confused

The camera may not lie but the caption certainly can. In NI 221 (*The armed agenda*) 'the burly and belligerent military man' to whom the bunch of flowers is being winsomely presented is in fact a traffic policeman, as his Russian arm band declares.

John D Anderson
ShIPLEY, UK

Bulging budget

Your arms trade issue (*The armed agenda NI 221*) prompts me to ask what we should do about a nation that has an arms budget which contradicts its expressed intentions and suggests sinister future plans? Classic example – South Africa. Its white government's assurances of an early non-racial,

peace-loving democracy, is flatly contradicted by its consistently enormous arms budgets. Since none of its neighbours even remotely pose a threat and the 'communist bogey' has collapsed, why the preservation of this vast arsenal unless the whites plan to continue intimidating defenceless blacks – including those in surrounding states?

Len Clarke
Uxbridge, UK

Vicious cars

As someone who has been involved with the 'Peace Movement' I was greatly surprised to see 'Volkswagen, Audi, Seat' listed in the *Action* section of your arms issue as car manufacturers having no military connection (NI 221). I believe that they are connected with the production of heavy duty military trucks and indirectly, with the production of the mobile Cruise missile launchers.

Of course this begs the question, 'Can you buy a car without a military connection?' I think not. I can only recall Japanese producers, Honda – and they supply engines and technology for British Aerospace-owned Rover. Or perhaps Toyota, who supply many vehicles used by the UN Peace Keeping Forces.

Martyn Rogers
Great Malvern, UK

Misunderstood

Anton Gratz misses the point about tax (*Letters NI 221*). It is perfectly acceptable for governments to fine people to stop actions like factory pollution just as it is for them to give money to encourage other activities like education; there is no fundamental distinction between the two types of government behaviour. The NI issue on tax (*Taxed to death NI 220*) simply criticized the uses to which tax breaks are often put – not their actual existence.

Mark Pack
London, UK

Political pictures

Your *Starve trek* issue was a witty and effective way of revealing the reality behind the American Dream. Perhaps the rather pompous letters of com-

Curious contradictions

Now is the time to seriously reconsider the effectiveness of the co-operative under which the editorship of the NI lies. If the NI wishes to advance a coherent and consistent argument, each magazine must follow similar principles. At present this does not happen. Here are two examples which highlight divisions between your editors: In NI 217 (edited by Sue Shaw) biotechnology was portrayed as a threat to the Third World farmer. Yet in NI 213 (edited by David Ransom) the view was expounded that biotechnology was the Third World's saviour as it would 'quadruple' food production.

In NI 195 (edited by Wayne Ellwood) there was strong criticism of Malaysia's 'Proton' car. But unfortunately this view was not shared by David Ransom (again) in NI 204. He thought that the exportation of 10,000 Protons was worth applauding.

Unless NI editors can act in unison, why do they think their views should be taken seriously?

York Ryding
Southport, UK

EDITOR REPLIES: We do aim to advance a coherent and consistent argument in the pages of NI. For this reason each magazine proposal is scrutinized and debated by all the editors. On the basic principles we agree. But there will be times when we disagree on specific details and may draw different conclusions – even from the same examples.

It's his difficult time of the month –
NI's arrived and he's got to change his opinion
again



plaint in **NI 220** were from readers who believe that humour has no place in the discussion of serious issues. However cartoons have a long and honourable tradition of making effective political points.

Jerry Mayers
Oxford, UK

Memorable past

Some of your readers have been irked by Mari Marcel Thekaekara's seemingly pro-Saddam Hussein and anti-Anglo-American stance (*Letters NI 220*). But like it or not, her sentiments were felt by most South Asians during the Gulf crisis. South Asians remember what happened to their not-so-far-away neighbours, the islanders of Diego Garcia, who were evicted from their homeland by the British so that America could establish a military base there.

Prakesh Seth
London, UK

Benevolent tax

Unfortunately none of your writers in the tax issue (**NI 220**) realized that a tax exists which differs fundamentally from all others and which offers radical solutions to present injustices and the lack of incentives in existing tax systems.

Land tax – or Community Ground Rent – forces the handful of elite families who monopolize land to reimburse the community for their exclusive use of what should be the common and equal birthright of all. If used, it would compel the opening up of vast areas of unused or under-used land, would not penalize the hard-working farmer as it is not productivity-linked, and cannot be evaded.

Karl Williams
Melbourne, Victoria, Australia

Disappointed hope

I am disappointed that you promote and sell a non-vegetarian cook book. Surely the new civilization on this earth will be vegetarian. After all, vegetarianism is the only humane diet.

T Bussey
Stanthorpe, Queensland, Australia

The views expressed on the letters page are not necessarily those of the NI.

L E T T E R F R O M I N D I A



Meat matters

Temptation or greed? Mari Marcel Thekaekara is troubled by NI.

THE **NI** issue on *Animal Rights* caused an outbreak of warring emotions and thoughts in my once contented brain. Having been reared in a strictly non-vegetarian home, I learnt the rule of survival as an omnivore from childhood: avoid the link between meat on the table and all thought of the terrors of the abattoir.

A Christian education indoctrinated me with the belief that all living creatures are made for humans to enjoy, and helped assuage doubts about the morality of killing animals. Paradoxically Western culture preaches kindness to animals except when they are being slaughtered for food. Similarly in the land of Ahimsa, India, it is not unusual to see a farmer who would die rather than eat beef, whipping his bullocks with impunity to get them to move faster. Or shoving a rod up the wild-eyed half-starved animal's anus to get it to the market-place on time.

Rarely are children chastized for teasing animals. During Diwali – a festival of fireworks – it is common to see a pack of brats amusing themselves by tying fire-crackers to some helpless mongrel's tail. Adults smile indulgently at them, the rare exception being the English-speaking, reared-on-a-diet-of-Kipling kind of person.

Soon after my marriage I considered vegetarianism seriously for the first time when my husband's Brahmin teacher, a person both of us revered and loved, asked 'How can you kill an animal and eat it?' He spoke so passionately our only response was a weak 'it's a difficult habit to break'. Intellectually and emotionally we agreed with him. Several times we discussed the possibility of turning vegetarian. But finally we relapsed into orgies of meat-eating, pushing those uncomfortable feelings to a safe distance in the recesses of our minds.

Then **NI** arrived. And with it the re-opening of an unfinished chapter. For still there is conflict. It makes sense to turn vegetarian. The only obstacles for us are inconvenience and habit.

And I have another incentive – a vivid childhood memory of my grandmother feeding bread and precious milk to the cat and dog. Outside children played in the dirt while their mother, Shanti, mopped our homes and cleaned our bathrooms. These kids never got as much milk as our cat. And they would have snatched the food from the animal's dishes if they could have. The thought always made me sick, even as a child. The only solution Shanti's employers could suggest was that she should get herself sterilized. As for her eight malnourished children – too bad – we couldn't possibly feed all the starving children in Calcutta.

Today the same issue torments me. The money we spend on our Doberman's food would

set a hungry child on the road to health. Every time I pour milk into the dog's dish, the unbidden image of a rickety, starving child looms reproachfully before me. So what is the answer? Don't feed the dogs? Obviously not. It would be ideal to have no starving children. But the kids are there in every village I visit. And though I wish to God they wouldn't haunt me, they do.



HANSRUEDI DÖRIG

Protein deficiencies are a major problem here – especially severe anaemia. Traditionally tribals got most of their protein from hunting which is now forbidden. And people are dying in huge numbers as a result. Women suffer most – many young girls die in childbirth.

Our doctors examine many poor, pregnant women and the healthiest are Christians and Muslims because they eat beef, the only affordable meat, at least once or twice a week. This takes them over the brink of anaemia. And in the hope of preventing more deaths from anaemia we are promoting the rearing of rabbits and fish.

'How can you raise these animals with the sole objective of killing them?' a friend shuddered recently. And I share her revulsion. A few years ago I would not have. But now I am plagued with doubt.

The solution would be for our country to be self-sufficient in protein-rich foods like pulses and soybeans. But everyone is growing cash crops for profit. In India no-one keeps cattle for meat. Only old, tired animals past their prime end up as beef. Even many wealthy Muslims and Christians shun this as the food of the lower castes. Which is not so bad because a bit of beef makes all the difference to a poor, pregnant woman.

So could one ever ban animal slaughter in India? For myself, the aroma of a succulent kebab wafting on the air is a temptation. Pure greed. Something I could do without. But I could not make the moral decision to take away a bit of meat which might make the difference between life and death to a child. Should I? ■

Mari Marcel Thekaekara has been working for the last seven years on a project she and her husband started for native people in the south Indian state of Tamil Nadu.

The Dispossessed



SEBASTIAO SALGADO/MAGNUM

Refugees are headline news these days. Yet Western governments are making holes in the world's safety net for the dispossessed. What is going on?

Sue Shaw explains.

I WAS reading my daily paper, when the following article caught my eye: 'A sick six-stone Kurdish man who tried to seek political asylum in Britain has been deported in handcuffs without his case being considered by the Home Office.'

'He was shipped out after spending two weeks in custody and going on hunger strike in protest at his treatment by the British immigration service.'

'Huseyin Ustun's offence was to have arrived in Britain on 27 May having travelled overland from Turkey where his family say he was imprisoned and subjected to police brutality for supporting the cause

of Kurdish separatism...

'His family claim he is likely to be imprisoned on his return...' Meanwhile, the article went on, UK Home Secretary Kenneth Baker was about to announce legislation further tightening controls on refugees attempting to enter Britain.¹

It was a smallish story, just another in the papers' daily catalogue of woe. But it struck a particular chord with me. Because in 1939 my mother, Hannah, and her parents also needed refuge – not from the Turkish Government, but from Hitler's extermination programme which threatened all Jews in Nazi Germany.

Fortunately my mother and her parents managed to get sponsored by an English businessman. And with just the things they could carry and fifteen shillings between them, they caught the boat to England. Like millions who were not so lucky, my great-grandmother disappeared and was never heard of again.

The tragedy of those who did not survive Hitler's purge is immeasurable.

But however fortuitous my mother's escape, refugee life was hard. Hannah was six years old. And as if the trauma of leaving her friends and family was not bad enough, immediately she arrived in



MIKE ABRAHAMS/NETWORK

Opposite: Souls in exile at an Ethiopian refugee camp. Above: Battling against poor housing, food shortages and the trauma of displacement places enormous strain on elderly refugees.

England her father was placed in a hostel and later interned leaving my grandmother to earn her living as a mother's help.

During those war years people were too frightened or ignorant to distinguish between the enemy and their victims – especially when both spoke German. At school Hannah was an outsider, the 'Gerry', the one whose mother could not afford the correct school uniform. Many could not believe that Hitler was really doing such awful things to Jews. And my family were often dismissed as scroungers who should have stayed at home.

This hostility in particular left lasting scars – as it continues to do to increasing numbers of people living out their exile in unwelcoming regions of the globe. Like the five million Afghans who fled state terror across their country's borders. Pakistan alone harbours over three million.² Officially Africa has six million² refugees – but unofficially another 13 million or more are thought to be displaced.³

No-one knows the exact numbers because most dispossessed people are not easily categorized. Official figures relate to 'refugees' which are specified as 'persons who are outside their country because of a well-founded fear of persecution'. But

excluded from this definition are the vast majority who either remain in their own countries or have been uprooted by other catastrophes like famine or flooding.

In 1951 when the definition was devised it accurately described the world's two million exiles who were mainly in Europe, uprooted during the Second World War. Since then the global picture has

"There is no sorrow above the loss of a native land."

EURIPIDES (431BC)

changed dramatically – the result of poverty, wars and human rights abuses. Today, a staggering 15 million refugees⁴ and maybe 30 million more internally displaced³ people have emerged. Most are in the Third World. And their numbers are multiplying.

Poverty uproots millions every year, triggered by pressures in the global economy. Today's Third World refugee problem began as new states emerged from colonialism in the 1950s burdened by conditions that had been created by colonizing powers – artificial boundaries, fragile national identities and distorted economies.

Not surprisingly conflicts ensued driving people from their homes.

The debt crisis made things worse. When oil prices rocketed in the mid 1970s and prices for primary exports fell, Third World countries were left struggling to repay massive loans they had taken from the West. Today, recession has forced most poor countries to adopt austerity programmes imposed by the International Monetary Fund to ensure that the commercial banks are repaid.

These measures hit the poor hardest, and poverty contrives to drive many from rural farms to the squalor of urban shanty towns. Millions have also been evicted from their land to make way for cash crops, hydro-electric schemes or highways.

Crowded onto marginal land, these exiles survive by destroying the environment, hacking down forests and over-farming the earth. Finally under the pressure of their growing numbers the soil stops yielding and they are forced to move on.

Floods, droughts and starvation follow in their wake rendering more homeless every year. Famines and droughts have triggered massive migrations in the Horn of Africa causing one and a half million people to leave their homes in the Sudan alone

HOWARD J. DAVIES/WOMBAT PHOTOGRAPHY



Families of Vietnamese refugees literally live on top of each other in this Hong Kong camp.

during the 1980s.⁵ Ethiopia's General Mengistu added to the crisis by forcing thousands to move as part of his re-villagization programme, while simultaneously spending vast sums on a war against portions of his own population.

Wars – and especially civil wars – drive more people from their homes than any other single factor. There are possibly more of these civil wars today than at any other time in history. From Sri Lanka to the Philippines to El Salvador, bombings, shootings and campaigns of terror devastate communities sending survivors fleeing for their lives.

These refugees of conflict are particularly desperate and vulnerable. Take the Afghan refugees in Pakistan. Many of those in Chenar Camp have paid their life's savings to the guides who smuggled them across the border.

Those most at risk are the women, children and old people. The elderly in particular find it hard to adapt: dramatic change disorients them. Bereaved and traumatized by bombings and other atrocities, they spend their days gazing longingly towards the Khyber Pass nursing sad memories of their homeland. With nothing to show for ten years of struggle and most family members dead, there is little joy ahead.

The women are particularly isolated, losing their traditional network of women friends and relatives – and living as captives of their menfolk in often violent and oppressive camps. The situation is far worse in many other camps in the world where members of vulnerable groups give

up, fall sick and die due to overwork, inadequate food and lack of health care.

The camps may be hell but at least the host countries are trying. Pakistan hosts the largest concentration of refugees in the world while one million Mozambican refugees find refuge within tiny Malawi's borders. In the case of Malawi the situation is dire. Most of the children are malnourished and lethal epidemic diseases like cholera are rife. (See box)

Many countries however, are openly hostile to refugees and threaten mass repatriations. Malaysia and other south-east Asian states have already towed many Vietnamese boat people back to sea. And rumours that some 40,000 more will soon be deported send waves of panic around the overflowing

"Everyone is quick to blame the alien."

AESCHYLUS (463BC)

detention camps of Hong Kong.

Others who are often rejected are the asylum-seekers. And the world's richest nations are guilty of returning many to possible torture and death every year. No wonder some prefer a quick end – like the Iranian who jumped from an eighth floor window rather than be extradited from Spain back to Iran. Or the two Kurdish asylum-seekers who died at a UK detention centre after setting their room ablaze in protest at their treatment by immigration authorities.⁶

We never hear about the distress of most however, for their escape efforts are derailed long before they reach the West. Many cannot obtain visas – now frequently required by potential host countries. Others are hauled bodily off planes by crews who fear being fined for carrying undocumented passengers. And some reach their destination – only to be turned back at the airport because they haven't got the required return flight and survival funds.

But the desperate are ever resourceful – especially in crossing borders. Three million crept out of hiding to be regularized during the US's recent amnesty on illegal immigrants, while at least one million illegal foreigners hustle a living in Italy, Spain and Greece.

Many arrive broke, having paid their all – up to \$5,000 a head for a European country – to traffickers who smuggled them in.⁷ And this price will probably rise as increasing numbers confront a 'fortress Europe'. For plans to open borders between European Community countries by the end of 1992 will most likely mean hauling up the drawbridge on Third Worlders. Soon their only legal excuse to pass immigration will probably be as workers – no families allowed. Faced with the rise of some very ugly right-wing political movements in Europe, asylum-seekers might anyway wish themselves at home.

The US is more generous towards asylum-seekers than Europe. But which illegal immigrant to the US today would not grimace at the inscription beneath the Statue of Liberty: 'Give me your tired, your poor, your huddled masses yearning to breathe free, the wretched refuse of your teeming

Parched and barren soil drives Ethiopians to undertake the long march north.



SEBASTIAO SALGADO/MAGNUM



Seeking sanctuary: a Hindu temple in the UK gives refuge from immigration authorities and Sri Lankan violence.

shore. Send these, the homeless, tempest-tossed to me, I lift my lamp beside the golden door'.

Most Western governments seem to be doing their best to extinguish the lamp of asylum. But many ordinary people refuse to let it die. In the US, members of the highly organized Sanctuary Movement continue to assist and provide refuge for escapees from war-torn and impoverished Latin American countries.

And in various parts of Europe too, courageous individuals are providing 'safe houses' for those who have entered illegally because their cry for refuge will likely go unheeded by officials. Such movements may become increasingly important unless we can prevail upon our governments to recall their moral responsibility to the world and reinstate asylum with generosity. The West would do better to adopt a policy of orderly immigration rather than one of closed doors. Cultural exchanges have

**"Give me your tired, your poor,
your huddled masses yearning to
breathe free..."**

INSCRIPTION BENEATH
STATUE OF LIBERTY

long formed the mainspring of human progress and denying our civilization opportunities to cross-fertilize ideas and practices is cultural suicide.

Meanwhile it is surely in the West's interests to reinstate their commitment to those international agencies that are set up to help refugees – like the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) which in recent years has seen its budget slashed so much that when cholera attacked new arrivals of Mozambican refugees at one camp in

The cost of hospitality

Impoverished Malawi is shouldering a burden that belongs to the international community. **Paddy Coulter** reports.

NOWHERE is the plight of refugees more acute than in Malawi where one million Mozambicans resort to piecework, grubbing for edible insects or gathering weeds and fungi to eke out inadequate refugee rations. 'There is never enough,' says one, 'if you haven't managed to get piecework to buy flour, you just have to go hungry.'

Despite their efforts up to half of the refugee children in Malawi are chronically malnourished. Last year an epidemic of the vitamin deficiency disease, pellagra, was only controlled by emergency provisions of tablets, while cholera is universal.

With great resourcefulness many of the refugees have started small businesses making crafts or doing woodwork. Like 51 year-old Tambala Chombi who supplements food rations for his family of five by making raffia palm furniture, crossing the border monthly to forage for raw materials: 'If a soldier from either side sees me I'm dead,' he says. 'That's why I don't go so often.'

Along with millions of other refugees worldwide, Tambala is paying for the international communities' indifference – forced to risk his life because their systems of support are collapsing.

Chief of these is the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) set up to protect and assist refugees, and to find permanent solutions for

them. Totally dependent on voluntary annual subscriptions from Western governments, it is now in crisis because donor governments are scrimping.

They started tightening their fists in 1989 leaving UNHCR short of \$150 million. The decline continued: in 1980 UNHCR had a spending budget of \$497 million; 10 years later \$550 million – representing a significant decrease in real terms over a decade in which refugee numbers doubled. Last year the biggest single donor, the US, effectively halved its funding per refugee, leaving the world's most impoverished countries to shoulder an impossible burden.

In parts of Malawi Mozambicans now outnumber local people. More keep coming – 20,000 alone in recent months – while Malawi, fourth poorest nation in the world, struggles to provide asylum for the equivalent of one in ten of its population.

Roads are ploughed up by lorries carrying relief supplies. Harvest yields are falling because of increased pressure on cultivable land. Costs to the country's infrastructure and its civil service alone were around \$25 million in 1988/89. And the international community shows few signs of relenting.

Paddy Coulter is the Director of the International Broadcasting Trust (IBT) and co-producer of 'The Dispossessed' television series with Yorkshire TV.

Malawi, the organization could not even provide the cooking pots, buckets and soap necessary to fight the disease.

If UNHCR did have the resources to protect properly the world's refugee population, it might staunch the growing influxes of poor and persecuted people that come begging at Western doors. For example it could more effectively help refugees who want to resettle their old homes. Like those who have returned to their native El Salvador to make their home in an abandoned cotton *hacienda* called El Gualcho.⁸ Today this group are transforming wilderness into a village with a school, fields and even a health centre.

Their efforts are sometimes hampered rather than helped by the international community, which prefers to fund high profile projects in health and education rather than infrastructure like housing – even though, argue community leaders, adequate buildings are necessary before other projects can start. Aid agencies need to listen more closely to what refugees want so that they can better target their help.

But the problem of displaced people will never go away so long as our governments continue to ignore the causes of inequality and injustice between North and

South. Third World debts must be cancelled. Poor countries deserve a fair price for their exports. And the granting of aid and selling of arms must be made conditional on countries having good human rights records.

By moving towards a more equal sharing of the world's resources, who knows? We might approach an ideal in which people everywhere could travel freely in response to pressures and opportunities in the world economy. As Pope John XXIII said in affirming the right to emigrate: 'The fact that one is a citizen of a particular state should not prevent anybody from being a member of the human family as a whole, nor from having citizenship in the world community.'⁹

¹ *The Independent* newspaper, London, 13.6.91. ² UNHCR, 1991. ³ US Committee for Refugees, 1991. ⁴ British Refugee Council, 1991. (UNHCR places the figure for the world's refugees at 17 million with the internally displaced at a further 17 million). ⁵ *Refugees: Dynamics of Displacement: Report for the Independent Commission on International Humanitarian Issues*, (Zed Books, 1989). ⁶ *Imagine There's No Countries: 1992 and international immigration controls against migrants, immigrants and refugees* by Steve Cohen, (Greater Manchester Immigration Unit, 1990). ⁷ Jonas Widgren, *International Affairs*, Vol.66, 1990. ⁸ From material by Mandy Macdonald. ⁹ *Closed Borders: the Contemporary Assault on Freedom of Movement* by Alan Dowty (Yale University Press, 1987).

A Palestinian voice

JUDAH PASSOW/NETWORK



Common thread

Anguish and the shared experience of homelessness bind the Kurds and the Palestinians together. Khalil Hindi remembers.

THE time: 1948. The place: Tantura, a tiny Palestinian village on the shore of the Mediterranean, somewhere between Haifa and Jaffa. The nightmare-memory: I, a small boy of three, clinging with terror to the tails of my grandmother's peasant robes, staring into the barrel of a gun. The agitated soldiers shout their orders: 'Sit down. Hands on heads. Silence.' The crowd cowers: old, middle-aged and young, women and children, bewildered, distraught, hysterical. Silence is enforced by a torrent of abuse: 'Idiots. Don't you understand Arabic? We said do not move.'

A woman whispers: 'What happened to the men?'

Another: 'They rounded them up and took them away'.

The first: 'Will they kill them?'

The second: 'Shut up, do not say things like that, mentioning evil brings forth evil'. Deadly silence.

A woman: 'Will they dump us behind the lines?'

Another: 'Who knows?'

A third: 'I heard the Jews of Kibbutz Zommarine have put in a good word for us'. Deadly silence again.

A woman: 'My man used to tell me resistance was futile'.

Another: 'Shut up. This is no time for that'.

Vehicles arrive in a storm of sand. The soldiers shout: 'Come on. Move. Get on board.'

An old woman pleads: 'Please Mister, don't split the families'.

A soldier: 'No matter. You are all going to the same place.'

The herding becomes more energetic: pushing, shoving and occasional furious use of rifle butts. Some women start crying loudly; the cries become louder and louder until the whole crowd joins in wailing frantically: 'We are lost. We are doomed.' A few shots in the air fail to restore calm.

Then the vehicles start moving. I am held tight by my grandmother and look around for my aunts. They are in the same vehicle, Amena, Buthaina and Regina. (Years after, I used to say to my grandfather: 'Regina! What a funny name for a Palestinian peasant woman.' He would gaze into the distance and say dreamily: 'Those were the days when you could call your children any name you fancied: Moslem, Christian, Jewish. We wanted to call your other aunt Rachel, but the troubles broke out before she was born and we

called her Amena instead.' My grandmother would then say: 'Old man, why do you keep making up these stories. I never wanted to call her Rachel. I never liked the Jews.' He would retort: 'But you always preferred to see the Jewish doctor, Rappaport'. And she would laugh a short, almost coquettish laugh and say: 'Yes, but damn him, he was very good.' I close my eyes and bury my head in my grandmother's bosom. The exodus begins.

'Do you really remember all this?' I ask myself. Maybe, maybe not. Maybe I wove it together from the yarns told and retold during long winter nights while we huddled for warmth around the embers burning in an open metal stove, reminiscing about the lost paradise of Palestine, the sad land of oranges. Anyway what does it matter? The collective memory of my people is made up of many such harrowing nightmares.

Familiar faces

Another time: 1991. Another place: somewhere in Kurdistan. The nightmare this time traverses a television screen. Thousands upon thousands of hapless Kurds, men, women and children, some bare-foot, some in slippers, clinging to a snow-covered mountain, driven by a fear which few have known, encountering slow death while fleeing for their lives. The camera draws nearer. A man faces it holding his dead infant and cries out with a broken voice: 'Why? Why? Why has the world abandoned us?'

I choke with pain. The faces are familiar. This man could easily have been my grandfather, that woman, my grandmother, the other my aunt. The tormented children's faces are so like those thronging the narrow alleyways of our refugee camps in Gaza and elsewhere. And the familiarity does not stop there. The anguish (why has the world abandoned us?) is one that we Palestinians have been living with for more than four decades. We have a special relationship with it: we nurse it, feed it our dreams, give it the best years of our lives and cherish it to our death beds. And if the world were suddenly to take notice of our suffering, we would, I fear, remain tenaciously devoted to it and ask: 'Why has it taken the world so long?'

Do the Kurds have the same special relationship with anguish? It would be surprising if they did not. One people (Israel) denies our existence and asks: what Palestinians? Four peoples (Arab, Iranian, Turks and Syrians) deny theirs and ask: what Kurds?

I am suddenly filled with shame. Comparisons are odious. What am I doing, using the suffering of the Kurds to recall my own and my people's? If comparisons are to be made, I will say that the immediate suffering caused by the exodus I experienced in 1948 pales in comparison with that



JUDAH PASSOW/NETWORK

Left and above: power games. As long as Israelis oppress Palestinians and Arabs oppress Kurds, suffering is the only outcome.

inflicted on the Kurds. Measuring human suffering on a scale is at best indecent.

But why not? Kurdistan-Palestine comparisons may at least bring home the point that, if we are not careful, 43 years after the Kurdish exodus, the problem of Kurdish refugees will remain, as does that of the Palestinians.

Shame refuses obstinately to leave me – shame at belonging to the oppressors, the Arabs. How can a people that suffered so much turn into such brutal oppressors? This question, usually asked in relation to the Arab-Israeli conflict, can be equally (justifiably or unjustifiably) asked in relation to the Arab-Kurdish conflict. In both cases I answer that brutality and indecency are not the monopoly of any one people.

Power silence

But I note with heavy heart that very few Arab intellectuals have defended the rights of the Kurds. So I will write it: 'Establishing democratic traditions cannot be confined to calling for democratic forms of government, but must also extend to acknowledging the existence of non-Arab peoples in the midst of the Arabs and upholding their right to self-determination up to and including secession.' This is sorely needed, particularly in relation to the long-suffering Kurds.

The Arabs of Iraq have entered, perhaps despite the best wishes of their majority, into a power relation with the Kurds in which they have been brutal oppressors. Hence it is the moral duty of all Arab

democrats unreservedly to defend the rights of the Kurds, including their right to have a homeland of their own, if they so wish. The Kurds may decide that it is in their best interests to be content with autonomy inside a democratic Iraq. But this is for them to determine, not for Arabs, no matter how well intentioned. This perhaps is the only basis for restoring solidarity between the two peoples.

I get a plethora of objections from my Arab friends: 'Why apply standards to us that no other people applies to itself?' I reply: 'Why not? Why shouldn't the Arabs be a just people even if other peoples are not?' Besides, most Arabs including these friends justifiably feel morally outraged when apologists for the Israeli occupation use similar arguments.

The pain of homelessness that Palestinians suffer daily should make Arab intellectuals immune to the temptation of denying other peoples a homeland. But unfortunately it does not.

Will the world go on considering the Kurds and Palestinians dispensable? Will it continue to regard them as mere pawns in some global strategic game? Who knows? What is certain is that, for any one related to the Middle East, the only tenable position to take is to be a Palestinian Kurd or a Kurdish Palestinian; any other is woefully inconsistent and unjust. ■

Khalil Hindi is Palestinian and British. He teaches and researches in computing at the University of Manchester Institute of Science and Technology.

A Kurdish voice

DAVID STEWART-SMITH/INSIGHT



Why has the world abandoned us?

More horrors were to come. On March 15, 1988, Iraq gassed the town of Halabja as part of its eradication programme. The town had just fallen into the hands of Kurdish nationalist guerrillas when waves of Iraqi aircraft bombed it with nerve and mustard gases. At least 4,000 civilians died over the next two days and some 30,000 were injured. The survivors fled to Iran, where many still linger in refugee camps.

Soon after that act of genocide, Britain doubled Iraq's credit facilities for the importation of British goods and France and the Soviet Union sold Saddam even more military aircraft with which to bomb the Kurds. Some 200 villages were destroyed with gas in the following months.

The treatment meted out to Kurds in neighbouring countries was little better. In Iran, the Kurdish home-rule movement has been put down with extreme brutality. And in Turkey, where nearly half of all Kurds live, even speaking Kurdish was a criminal offence until recently; no publication is allowed in Kurdish.

The Turkish authorities have also taken advantage of violent excesses by a small breakaway Kurdish group called the Workers Party of Kurdistan (PKK). This Marxist-Leninist outfit has been responsible for the deaths of some 3,000 Kurds and Turks since 1984. And the Turkish army has used the PKK as an excuse to destroy many Kurdish villages where inhabitants were suspected of harbouring Kurdish nationalist sympathies.

Kurds are one of the largest minorities in the world still without any national rights. It is terribly unjust that the homeland of 20 million people who call themselves by a common name and who wish to be free should be carved up by five states which use force to prevent contact between the various people. If these states will not grant Kurds self-determination, outside countries must press them to at least allow home rule in Kurdish regions and to relax their frontier controls.

More immediately, Western people must push their governments to keep troops in northern Iraq to protect the refugees there. After the horror of watching women and children dying from cold and hunger on mountain tops last April, the world should no longer allow the United Nations to hide behind the pretext of not interfering in the internal affairs of states. The UN's own 1948 convention on genocide gives it all the powers of intervention it needs. ■

Hazhir Teimourian is a Middle East specialist on *The Times* newspaper in London.

Lies and blind eyes

Thousands of Kurdish people dying on bleak mountainsides shocked the world. But it was just one more episode in a history of homelessness and insecurity. Hazhir Teimourian, himself a Kurd, tells the story.

It was about 5000 years ago that Kurdish peoples migrated from the north to the mountains where 20 million of them live today. This area – stretching from western Iran to eastern Turkey and about half the size of France – is known as Kurdistan.

They set up the empire of the Medes in 612 BC but this was conquered by Cyrus, the first of the Great Kings of Persia. The pattern was repeated time and time again: although Kurdish tribes built scores of kingdoms over the centuries each lasted only a few decades before being conquered and scattered.

But after World War One the chance of becoming united at last came into sight. Under the 1920 Treaty of Sevres the European victors, Britain and France, promised to give the Kurds an independent state.

Just three years later this undertaking was conveniently forgotten under the Treaty of Lausanne. The Allies were far more concerned with supporting an anti-Communist Turkey against the rise of the new Bolshevik state in Russia. Autonomy for Kurds fell by the wayside.

Things went from bad to worse for the Kurds. While setting up the state of Iraq, Britain bombed protesting Kurds into submitting to Arab rule in Baghdad. This was

followed by a promise from the British that the new state would always remain under its influence and that it would respect the Kurds' separate national identity.

Now it was the USSR's turn to make promises – and break them. In 1946 Stalin agreed that a Kurdish republic could be established in Iranian Kurdistan which was then being occupied by his troops. But he too backed down after settling for oil exploration rights in northern Iran. A year later, the Shah of Iran publicly hanged the Kurdish leader of Iranian Kurdistan when he refused to flee.

For 14 years – from 1961 to 1975 – the Kurds tried to mount a rebellion. But it collapsed when thousands were murdered or deported to the Arab parts of Iraq. The fiercely nationalistic Socialist Arab Renaissance (Ba'ath) Party of Iraq then set out to obliterate Kurdish culture. Schools were closed. Over 3,000 villages and some 15 towns were razed to the ground. Kurdish land-owners were evicted and Arabs settled their territory.

And all the time this was happening, the Kurds were assured that they were being granted autonomy in their internal regional affairs. In fact their so-called autonomous regional government usually convened only a few days each year.

The jealous state

*Passports are a deed of ownership by states bestowed on their citizens as a privilege. But what about the citizen's right to freedom of movement? **Richard Swift** investigates.*



MIKE ABRAHAMS/NETWORK

IN the 1920s a mysterious writer known only as B Traven penned his novel *The Death Ship* about a New Orleans sailor whose ship abandoned him in Antwerp without any identification.

As the US consul told the unlucky fellow:

'Think it silly or not I doubt your birth as long as you have no certificate of (it)... The fact that you are sitting in front of me is no proof of your birth ... the Department

of Labour may or may not accept my word that I have seen you, and that as I have seen you, you must have been born.'

The sailor was forced to sign on with the autocratic skipper of a ramshackle old tramp steamer – the 'death ship' – and wander forever from port to port, with no nation to welcome him ashore.

The sailor discovered what all travellers know instinctively: borders are not friendly places. Whether you are flying into any

modern airport or crossing the Turkish frontier, the uniformed people who greet you are trained to be suspicious and are often downright hostile.

They stare at you, then at your passport picture, then back at you in disbelief, trying to ascertain whether you are a drug courier or terrorist, illegally looking for work or a place to live, a political dissident, avoiding customs duties and taxes, or perhaps even holding a criminal record. If



JUSTIN LEIGHTON/NETWORK

The Berlin Wall was the most blatant monument to the state's ownership of people.

you don't belong (have citizenship) you are a foreigner, a refugee, a migrant, or in that telling phrase of the US Immigration Service, an 'alien' – or worse, an 'illegal' alien.

Your reception will depend on the thickness of your wallet or the colour of your skin. And God help you if no government has seen fit to grant you a passport.

The right to voluntary movement across borders clashes with the state's claim to 'ownership' of its citizenry. A passport is a kind of deed of that ownership bestowed on the humble citizen as a privilege. They can be withheld, denied, seized or simply not recognized. The human right to leave (or stay) is inscribed in international law. Yet the twentieth century has witnessed a sorry parade of expulsions, exclusions, forced repatriations and arbitrary refusals of the right to exit.

Victims are defined both by their beliefs and their ethnicity. The Turks of Bulgaria, the Hindus of Pakistan and the Moslems of India, the Asians of East Africa, the Jews of the Soviet Union or several other countries have all been forced to leave or stay against their will. No continent is exempt.

Offending governments profess all manner of political beliefs.

Shut out

While violations of the right to come and go at least receive international censure, guarantees of political and economic sanctuary in another country simply do not exist. A government has the absolute right to block its borders against refugees and migrants. Thus boat-loads of Jews fleeing the Nazis were barred from North America and millions of African victims of war and famine cling to life in the legal limbo of unwelcome refugee camps just across a dozen borders.

Throughout the Cold War the West heaped diplomatic scorn on the Soviet Bloc for not allowing its citizens freedom of movement. Yet which Western country will fling open its doors to these people now such movement is allowed?

The Cold War was a bad time for freedom of movement. The US refused passports to the likes of Arthur Miller and Paul Robeson and regularly refused entry to intellectuals suspected of left-wing sympathies. The famous shoot-to-kill order given to East German border guards shows how

serious the Stalinist authorities were about the ownership of their population.

The border is about control and the jealous sovereignty of the nation-state. Here the government carries out the rituals of inclusion and exclusion. And the bureaucratic antipathy felt for the 'unstable' traveller is reflected in the official treatment of gypsies and other nomadic peoples. The development goals imposed on the Bedouin of Arabia or the Masai of Kenya involve settling them down to sedentary agriculture. Such nomadic peoples cross borders without so much as a by-your-leave and are therefore out of control.

Borders seem fixed and immutable, a timeless fact of life. But actually they are an arbitrary and shifting reality. For example, the boundaries of Greece have changed six times over the last 150 years. At different points you might have been born an Albanian, Bulgarian or Turk rather than a Greek. The people of Alsace-Lorraine have been part of both Germany and France at different times in the last century. There are towns on the Canada-US border where some houses have their kitchens in one country and their living rooms in the other.

In the Third World – particularly Africa – the borders of nation states are the artificial construction of the administrative divisions of European Empires. There was often little sense of commonality to bind people together; it was largely chance who got lumped in Nigeria or in the Cameroon. And the revolt of disaffected minorities has scarred politics south of the Sahara since independence. The insecurity African nation-states feel about their borders and the loyalty of those that reside within them is a major cause of civil strife and the continent's staggering refugee crisis.

Bloody tricks

Politicians often take advantage of the potent symbolism of borders to make mischief – or revive flagging popularity. The trick is simple – start a border incident by claiming part of some other country. The pretext for the bloody Iran-Iraq war was the Iraqi claim that their border with Iran lay on the east side rather than down the middle of the Shatt-el-Arab waterway. Tens of thousands were slaughtered to prove the point.

Just what comprises a nation and where borders should be drawn is one of the most controversial aspects of political history. Many peoples live under governments they deeply resent. Nation-building is often less a matter of geography or statesmanship than force of arms. The Timorese, for example, have loyalty less from conviction than from fear for the Java-based Government of Indonesia, which slaughtered hundreds of thousands of their kinfolk. The speed with which the Soviet Union, Yugoslavia and perhaps Ethiopia are disintegrating speaks volumes about how paper-thin loyalty given out of fear really is.

In fact most countries are stretched between local loyalties and national priorities. Yet for most of human history – until about 400 years ago – we lived without borders or the nation-state. People had loyalty to their tribes, regions or communities. Traditional societies generally respect the individual's right to leave or remain. Their sense of boundaries is fluid.

It is not a given that the nation-state will be forever the way we organize human affairs. Indeed today many organizations have a 'global reach', the most obvious and controversial being the transnational corporations that dominate the world economy. Unions and environmental movements are also developing their own international networks to check corporate behaviour. Churches and non-government organizations like the Red Cross and Amnesty International also work multinationally. Similarly, in the post-Cold War era the United Nations may well come to play a more prominent role – if it isn't hijacked by big-power politics. And in the Third World, Pan-Arab and Pan-African sentiments retain powerful loyalties that challenge narrow nationalism and champion the free movement of peoples.

Today Europe is taking concrete steps towards the elimination of border controls and rethinking notions of national sovereignty. Beleaguered minorities must hope that greater decentralization and regional self-rule will result.

But some fear that Europe is building a fortress around itself which will exclude non-Europeans. Already racism is on the rise, along with the reactionary right. Disturbing graffiti are appearing on the walls of some German cities – 'Yesterday the Jews, tomorrow the Turks'.

Borders reflect economic realities as much as political ones. Jobs, prosperity and personal security are magnets that pull migrants and refugees. And the fear of job-snatching hoards of foreigners replete with their political troublemakers and criminal elements is deeply imbued in most popular cultures.

In fact this fear has always been overplayed, for the counter-pull of family and culture has always been strong. At the height of the Great Atlantic Migration last century, nearly a third of all migrants left the wealth and opportunities of the Americas to return home.

Nevertheless it is unlikely that borders will be thrown open in a world torn asunder by economic inequality. On the highly militarized Mexican-US border, tens of thousands of hungry Mexicans and other Latin Americans already run the gauntlet of razor wire, desert, helicopters and dogs for the dubious sanctuary of the casual labour markets in San Diego and Los Angeles.

Borders of wealth

Would there be a flood of humanity if there were no border controls? Perhaps. But at the moment the situation is not satisfactory either. The US happily welcomes cash crops and capital from foreign countries – its just the people it's not too keen on. Fat interest repayments on foreign debts and the wealth of rich Latin Americans will always find a place in US bank vaults – although this money would be better used to provide economic opportunities and jobs to keep migrants at home. But the money is not used in this way and so poor Latin American *campesinos* seek minimum wage jobs across the border – often to be turned back.

The relationship between France and its profitable West African neo-colonies is similar. In such cases borders are both a symptom and a cause of economic inequality – demarking and protecting the lands of relative privilege against those who would like to follow the northward trail of cash crops and profits.

B Traven's outcast sailor on the Death Ship assesses his shipmates' chances of going to heaven: 'You and me won't get in there. In the first place, we have no papers, no passports. You may depend on that all right; they ask papers from you when you come to the gate. Stamped by consuls and passport office clerks with the okay of an Episcopalian deacon. Or else they bang the door right in your face... the preachers say that everything in life is a preparation for the beyond... why in hell would you need so many papers here on earth if no one would ask for them up there?' Good question. ■

Richard Swift is an NI co-editor based in Canada.

Rituals of control. Identity check in Southern Lebanon.

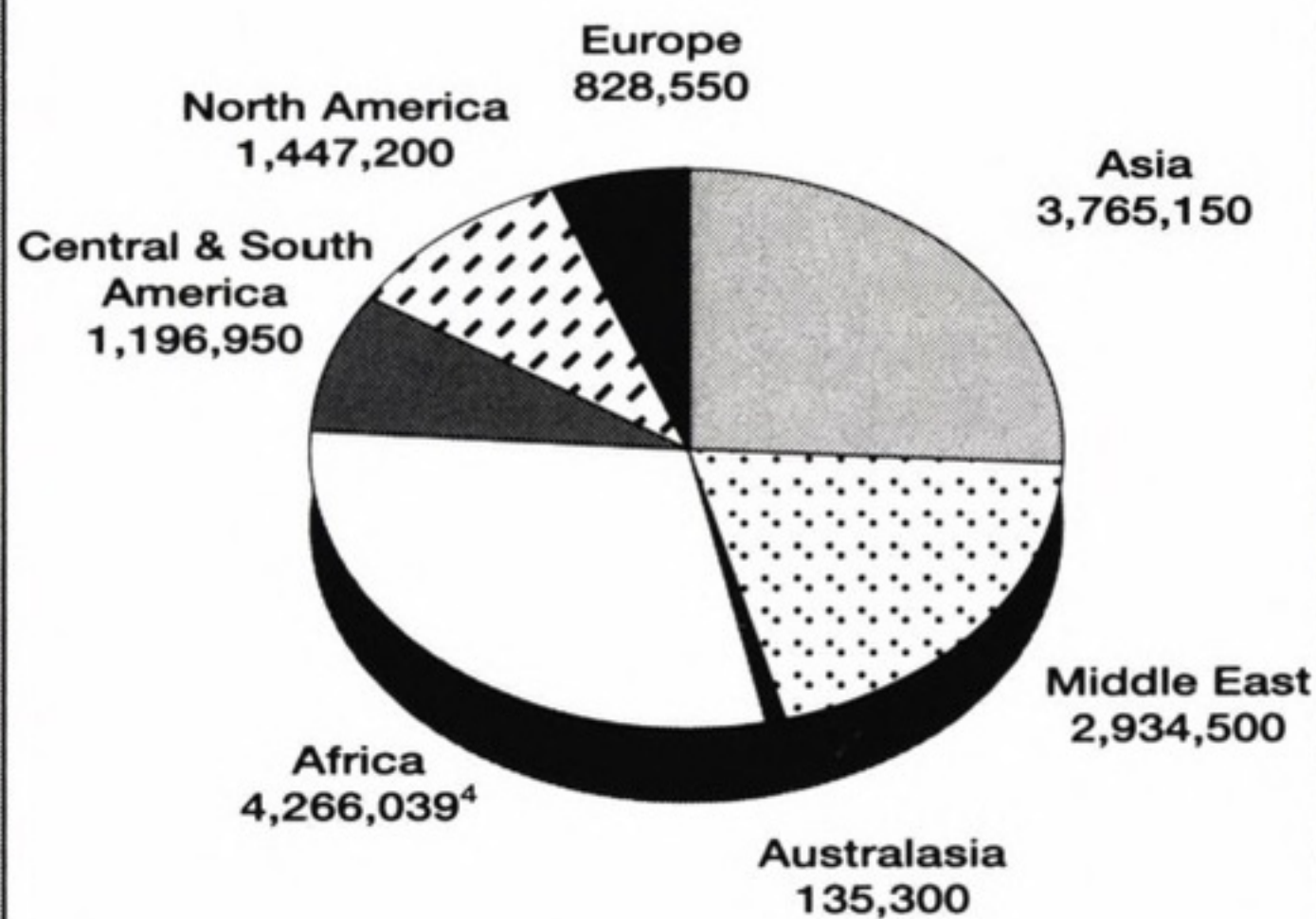


Scattered peoples

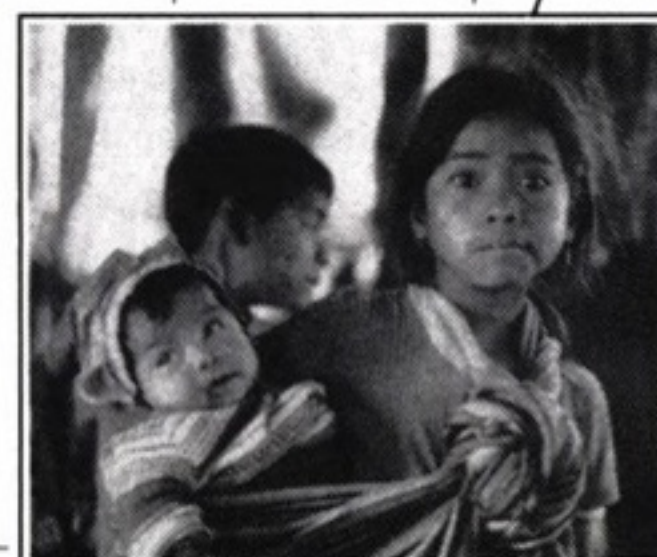


The growing numbers of refugees are scattered worldwide. These pages show the official UNHCR figures for 1990¹. Actual numbers may well be much larger and are constantly changing. The photos highlight countries with the most refugees.

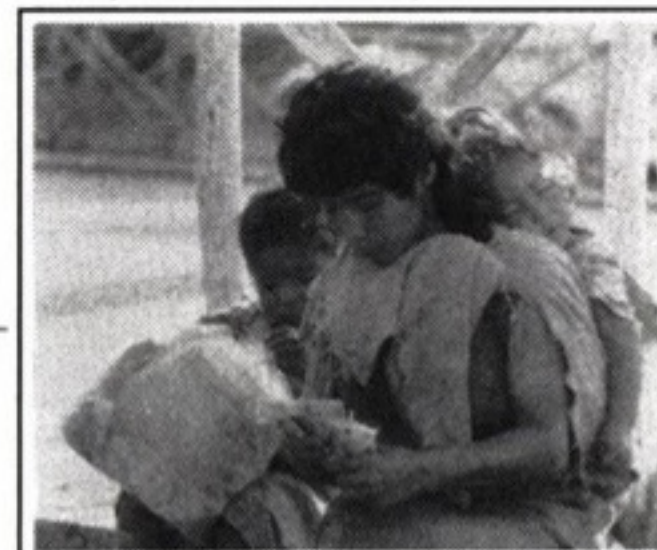
REFUGEE POPULATION BY REGION



U.S.A.



Mexico



Argentina



EUROPE

France	194,900
Germany (West)	150,700
Sweden	139,800
United Kingdom	100,000
Turkey	33,000
Denmark	33,000
Switzerland	29,300
Netherlands	27,200
Hungary	27,000
Belgium	25,500
Norway	18,500

Austria

Italy	11,450
Spain	8,700
Greece	7,500
Finland	2,000
Yugoslavia	950
Portugal	650

MIDDLE EAST²

Iran	2,850,000
Yemen	80,100
Lebanon	4,400

AFRICA

Malawi	822,500 ³
Sudan	767,700
Ethiopia	710,200
Somalia	600,000
Burundi	267,500
Tanzania	265,200
Zimbabwe	175,350
Algeria	169,100
Zambia	137,000
Uganda	129,960
Senegal	53,350

Cameroon	48,630
Swaziland	34,900
Rwanda	21,500
Mauritania	15,000
Angola	12,900
Kenya	12,400
Lesotho	4,200
Nigeria	3,800
Congo	3,400
Togo	3,400
Central African Republic	2,490
Egypt	1,700
Djibouti	1,450



Botswana 1,450
Benin 860

ASIA

Pakistan 3,275,700
China 280,500
Thailand 99,900
Hong Kong 49,500
Philippines 26,650
Vietnam 15,000
India 9,500
Japan 8,400

AUSTRALASIA

Australia 97,900
Malaysia 20,500
Papua New Guinea 7,700
Aotearoa (New Zealand) 4,700
Indonesia 4,500

NORTH AMERICA

United States of America 1,000,000
Canada 447,200

CENTRAL AMERICA

Mexico 356,400
Costa Rica 278,600
Honduras 237,100
Guatemala 223,100
Belize 30,100
El Salvador 20,300
Nicaragua 16,000
Cuba 4,000
Dominican Republic 3,350
Panama 1,500

SOUTH AMERICA

Argentina 12,600
Brazil 5,300
Venezuela 2,200
Colombia 700
Peru 700

1 UNHCR, 1990. 2 At the peak of the Gulf crisis over 1.5 million people crossed borders into neighbouring countries. Around 260,00 remain in Iran and 13,000 in Turkey. 3 There are now probably close to a million Mozambican refugees in Malawi. 4 Now over 6 million.

Fortress Europe

Open borders within the European Community means closing doors on those desperate for sanctuary. NI reports from around Europe.

'Germany for Germans'

11 PM. The tram door snaps shut. A dozen or more fully grown men in black leather jackets and heavy boots leave the rear car to pelt three fleeing teenagers half their weight with pebbles. 'Deutschland den Deutschen!' shriek the louts – 'Germany for Germans!'

Fortunately no-one is injured. But three weeks later in the same area of East Berlin a Mongolian is stabbed by 15 young men in black leather jackets shouting 'Foreigners out!' Soon afterwards a Mozambican worker is buried in Dresden after a blatantly racist street murder. And two Namibians are pushed to their deaths from a window when skinheads invade their hostel.

Since reunification racist violence is constantly in the news in East Germany. A friend, East German born and bred, has moved back to the capital from small town Mecklenburg because the new climate is unbearable. 'My blackness incites violence,' he says. 'People in the old GDR just don't realize how mobile the rest of the world is. They were cut off for too long and take a very simplistic view of who belongs where.'

Vietnamese, Mozambicans, Cubans and others brought in under contract by the previous government to fill labour gaps in light industry now live in terror. There were never more than 100,000 of them in a country of 17 million inhabitants and their stay was limited to four or five years. But

before unification, when the East German economy began to crumble, many were cajoled by hand-outs into returning home before time. Today the remainder sell cut-price cigarettes in subways and outside supermarkets, scraping *pfennigs* where they can, scared of deportation, seeking refuge in cramped hostels. They work in groups. Solitude is risky.

It is not a welcoming environment for asylum-seekers, as an Iraqi at an East Berlin hostel has discovered: 'The people are cold. They stare at you on the underground and if there's a seat somewhere else, they take it. If they have to sit next to you, they leave an inch or two around them for protection.' He has never been attacked, but friends in his hostel have warned him about the city's danger zones.

Another refugee finds the insularity hard to cope with: 'I think the Germans stay indoors and watch television. Now it's warmer there are more people in the park. But they don't mix.'

Berlin is obliged by the Federal quota system to take over two per cent of Germany's asylum-seekers. And the influx of refugees from Eastern Europe has only begun. By the end of April 1991 85,000 had arrived in Germany and the forecast is for over a third of a million by the end of the year – with more next year.

Local sympathies are likely to remain low in East Berlin when it comes to the rights and needs of 'other people', as factory after factory closes for want of buyers or investment. Much of the population is jobless, on short-time, awaiting imminent unemployment, or prematurely retired. Pressures on housing are enormous. Half the city's education system is upside down. Business is demanding new facilities. The telephone network cannot handle communications even in the city. And social tensions are all-pervasive. Teenagers on both sides wear T-shirts declaring 'I want my wall back'.

The wealth is still in the West. Only the burdens, it seems, are to be equally distributed. ■

Kathy Vanovitch

Neo-Nazis take a break from beating foreigners to clash with police.



MÄCHLER/CAMERA PRESS

Asylum by ordeal

TELEVISION viewers in Britain may recall seeing 64 Tamils stripping off at Heathrow Airport three years ago to protest at their threatened deportations. The men were carried onto the aircraft in their underpants and stood on the seats so the pilot refused to take off. Forty-five minutes after the plane's scheduled departure, British lawyers managed to obtain a High Court injunction preventing it from leaving.

The Tamils were seeking asylum from their native war-torn Sri Lanka, where some 25,000 Tamils have been killed since 1983. Among the protesters was Ravi Sundaralingam, who had already seen his elder brother shot by Government forces, and had himself been tortured many times by soldiers who blindfolded him, suspended him upside down by his ankles and beat him with iron bars and plastic pipes filled with sand. Once they also lit a fire under his head.

On his release his father had paid extortionate sums to secure him a forged passport and visa. And on February 13 1987 he arrived at Heathrow Airport with 63 other Tamils to beg for political asylum.

After a 40-minute interview via an interpreter, the Home Office announced that Ravi was lying. The Minister of State for the Home Office, David Waddington, declared that the Tamils' claims were 'so clearly bogus' that he disallowed MPs their customary right to intervene and the Home Office bussed the Tamils off to the airport for immediate expulsion. Ravi and the others then staged their protest.

It secured them a temporary reprieve; Ravi was granted another interview. Immigration officers concluded 'that he was in no greater danger than the rest of the young Tamil population...' And on February 1 1988, the then Home Secretary Douglas Hurd said that the Tamils had failed to prove that they had 'a justifiable fear of persecution in terms of the 1951 UN Convention.' On February 12 1988, Ravi was returned to Sri Lanka in handcuffs.

Shortly afterwards he was arrested by the Indian Peace Keeping Force, held for seven months and tortured as before, once every four or five days.

The electric shocks on his genitals left him unable to urinate for several days after each session and caused medical problems from which he still suffers. His father managed to get him released by bribing the army unit. But he was re-arrested within a month and tortured again. Once more his parents bought his release and this time he went into hiding.



THE INDEPENDENT

The force of the underpants. Tamil arguments and evidence had failed to move British immigration officials.

Meanwhile his appeal was about to succeed in Britain. In March 1989 the Immigration Appeals Adjudicator ruled that Ravi had been entitled to political asylum at the time of his expulsion from the UK and ordered the Home Office to bring him back as quickly as possible. Even then the Home Office took six months to comply, quibbling about who should pay the air fare.

Of five young Tamils (Ravi among them) returned to Sri Lanka in 1988, three were detained and tortured. More than 80 others later expelled by the Home Office, simply vanished without trace into the killing fields of Sri Lanka.

Actually, Ravi and the four other Tamils were lucky. They are currently in the UK, awaiting results of their appeals to the European Court of Human Rights for refugee status.

Others are less fortunate. Since 1987 things have become more difficult for people seeking political asylum in the UK. During the last two years immigration officers have illegally removed asylum-seekers, in one case using violence.

Moreover, asylum-seekers are now usually expected to carry visas from their country of origin, forcing them to ask their persecuting governments for permission to leave: a bit like asking lambs to ask the lion if they may leave its den.

And airlines face severe fines for carrying passengers without valid visas. They have kept many asylum-seekers out of the country – including torture victims and on one occasion a six-year-old child – and are causing airline staff to make their own unauthorized and often brutal removals.

Asylum-seekers have been tricked into believing they were moving from one airport to another when they were actually being sent home. They have been denied food and drink given to other passengers, and even access to the toilets. They have wept and pleaded with airline staff. And one 17-year-old torture victim was dragged onto the plane by airline staff who subsequently waved and laughed as they called out 'bye-bye'.

Sue Shaw

Working in the shadows

'YOU can give me another; the last one was good,' says the bar manager in Berne, Switzerland. He hangs up the telephone having placed his order for a new worker from one of the compulsory hostels for asylum seekers. The 'package' is Aliu Kaya, a Kurdish peasant who fled the Turkish regime for politico-economic reasons and came to Switzerland as an illegal immigrant.

Around one tenth of all people employed in Swiss restaurants and cafés are asylum seekers, according to an estimate at the beginning of this year; approximately 15,000 people and just under half of all those seeking refuge in Switzerland.

The majority – around 97 per cent – enter the country illegally, knowing that if they can hang on long enough they will eventually be given a work permit and the right to apply for asylum. Meanwhile they are at the bottom of the social ladder.

Throughout the 1980s, hoteliers and restaurateurs queued up in front of the hostels for employees, who had no choice but to accept poor pay and appalling work conditions.

Elif Arslan was one of these. Having fled the unofficial war against Kurds in Eastern Turkey, she is among a dozen other

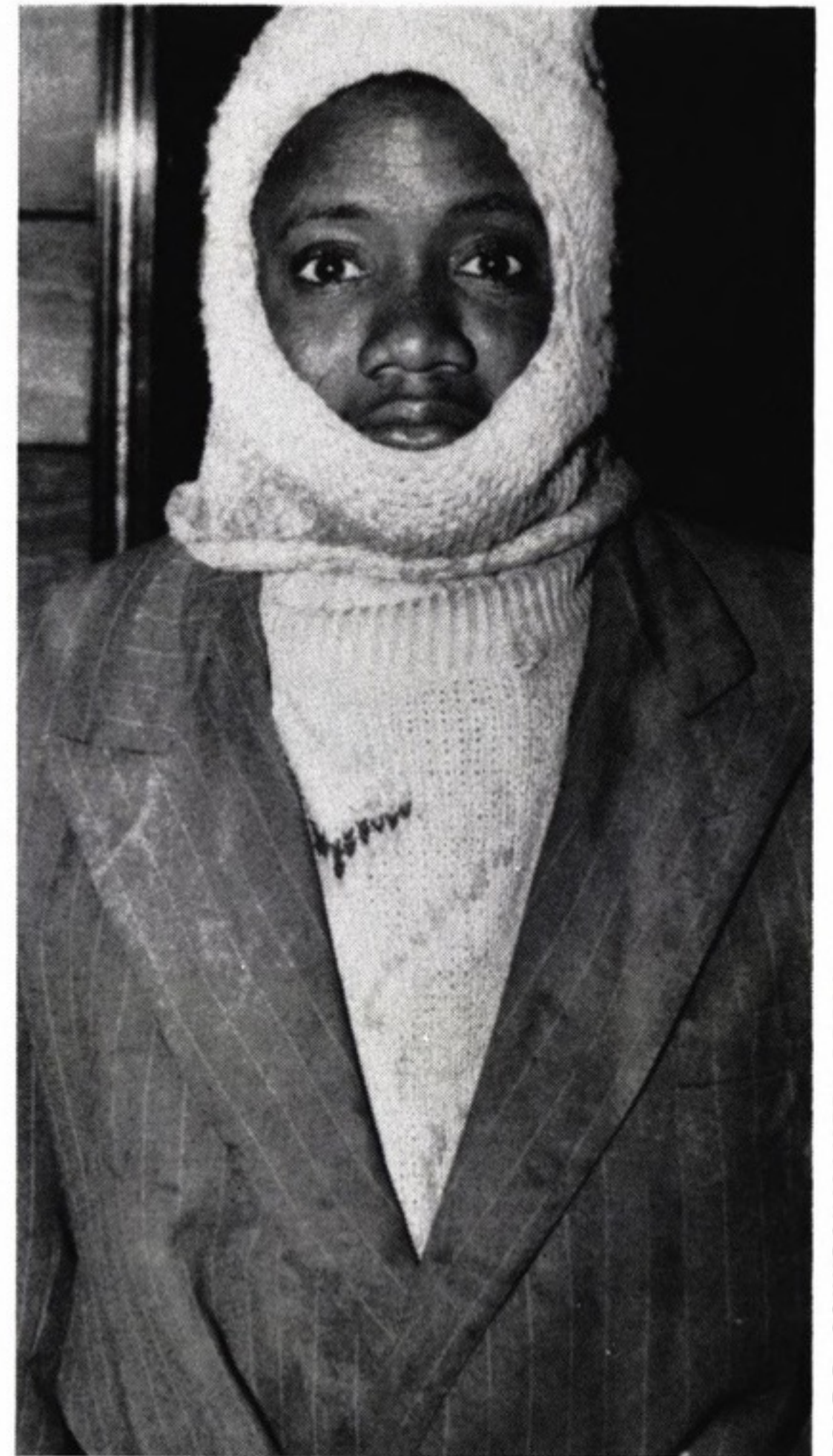
asylum-seekers who, for fear of losing their jobs, endure miserable working conditions in a fast-food restaurant in the centre of Berne. 'Our boss is forever yelling at us,' Elif complains. She herself was accused of taking 'too many days off sick' and the salary increase legally due to her was withheld – even though she had all the necessary medical reports.

Countless similar cases exist all over Switzerland. One organization which advises people in difficult work situations reckons that four out of five people seeking their help are asylum-seekers.

'Those who take cases of mistreatment in the workplace to court usually win. But very few victims have the courage to go that far,' says a spokesperson from the social welfare centre *Impulse* in Zurich. 'They know that the foreign police in the various *cantons* (a type of district) don't use kid gloves when dealing with asylum-seekers.' Every year over a thousand are deported by the police along with more than 2,000 illegal workers.

Yet the numbers of deportations remain relatively low compared to the thousands of illegal immigrants actually in the country. 'On the one hand, Switzerland wants to keep up humanitarian appearances and on the other, the less adequately structured professions badly need cheap labour,' explains a spokesperson for the Bureau for

Asylum-seekers contribute as much to the Swiss economy as the watch-and-jewel industry.



ROLF D. SCHURCH/CAMERA PRESS

Cold comfort Europe: as numbers of new arrivals increase, the welcome gets icier.

Asylum Seekers, a voluntary agency in Berne. 'Without asylum-seekers a lot of businesses would face terrible problems,' confirms the director of the Swiss Hotel and Restaurant Association.

Indeed at 2,000 million Swiss francs (\$1,320 million), the value of labour contributed annually by asylum-seekers to the Swiss economy is almost equal to the earnings of the well-reputed watch-and-jewel industry. Asylum-seekers easily cover the expenses that they impose on the economy, in spite of working at the minimum wage level.

With the recession however, all this is changing. The restaurant and hotel business is badly hit and owners have started employing multi-lingual foreigners with long-term work permits in preference to asylum-seekers.

As numbers of new arrivals increase from crisis areas like Yugoslavia, Turkish Kurdistan, Sri Lanka and the Middle East, the Swiss authorities are preventing many asylum-seekers from even applying for work permits and asylum. A federal report puts it with brutal clarity: 'Asylum seekers and irregular migrants not in need of protection, from now on shall be totally denied access to the Swiss labour market.'

Beat Leuthardt

Refugee in orbit

Fill in a form wrongly and you can sentence yourself to death if you are an exile. Kofi is – and he talks to Tajudeen Abdulraheem about it.

'MY name is Kofi Amega. I am a Ghanaian and I arrived in Britain in December 1984 with a visiting visa to seek political asylum. My application is still pending.

'I came from Lomé, Republic of Togo, West Africa, where I escaped to in 1983 after evading security agents in Ghana who would have imprisoned or killed me.

'The Government of Togo and that of Ghana have not seen eye to eye for years. But there has been periodic rapprochement between them, using refugees as pawns. It works on the basis of 'you return my enemies and I will return yours'.

'Ghanaian refugees – especially soldiers and occasionally politically active civilians – became hostages of the Togolese Government. So although there is a United Nations Commission for Refugees in Lomé I was reluctant to register because the Togolese authorities had ways of finding out who is who, and could use anyone in an exchange with the Ghanaian Government. Instead, like many refugees, I travelled around the West African Coast to avoid the Togolese police.

'No state would accept us for fear our Government would accuse them of "interfering in its internal affairs". And so we just kept moving, like rolling stones, never staying long in one place.

'Finally sheer desperation made me seek an escape from this helter-skelter life. I managed, through the help of friends, to secure somebody else's passport and trav-

elled to the UK as a visitor.

'I arrived in London in December 1984 full of hope. Having gone through a British educational system and served in the colonial army, I expected certain standards of British justice. Indeed my fellow exiles in Africa, while fearing that my false passport would be discovered and I be returned to Ghana, had otherwise envied me. They assumed my difficulties would be over.

'Well, my passport was not detected and after the usual accusatorial probing at the airport I was let in on a visitor's visa. Straightaway I inquired about organizations or individuals who could help me.

'That was when my problems began. I got passed from one solicitor to another because I had no money to pay for their services. And because I had not claimed asylum on arrival at the airport many refugee organizations were reluctant to handle my case. Moreover, no sooner had I arrived than I had to start working to keep myself and get accommodation.

'Since my visa was only for six months I was anxious to quickly get my application to the Home Office. But being penniless I had to make the application myself without realizing the processes involved. I wrote down my experiences as I recollected them. But when I was eventually able to afford a solicitor I had to re-write the statement, so the two accounts were slightly at odds with each other.

'By then I was getting £33 a week from the State for my upkeep (excluding accom-

modation). It was hardly enough for food, let alone travel in London. Yet by law I had to wait six months after my application for asylum to apply for a work permit.

'All this time, my predominant feeling was of guilt. I had not seen my family for almost two years by the time I reached London. My wife had had a second baby while I was on the run. My first child had only been four years old when I left. By the time I got here, the economic situation in Ghana – bad when I left – was worse. Yet I could not send them money because I was barely surviving myself.

'I had become an irresponsible father, an absentee husband and a lost son. I had hardly even maintained regular correspondence when I was wandering. What could I say? It was unfair to increase my family's emotional load with my stories of woe. I just kept hoping things would get better so I could write. Weeks became months, months became years. I postponed letter-writing to Christmas. But it was miserable – and so I further postponed writing until Easter. Time went by – and I often felt my whole life was a waste.

'It was over a year before I got a notification to appear before the Home Office Committee investigating my case. I was told that there were many contradictions in my story. Therefore I was not being granted full asylum. Instead I had "limited leave to remain" pending an appeal. It meant I could stay – but for how long?

'By this time I had the right to work. But few employers would take me knowing that I could leave at any time. So I remained in the underworld of casual jobs; low pay, high risk, unprotected labour.

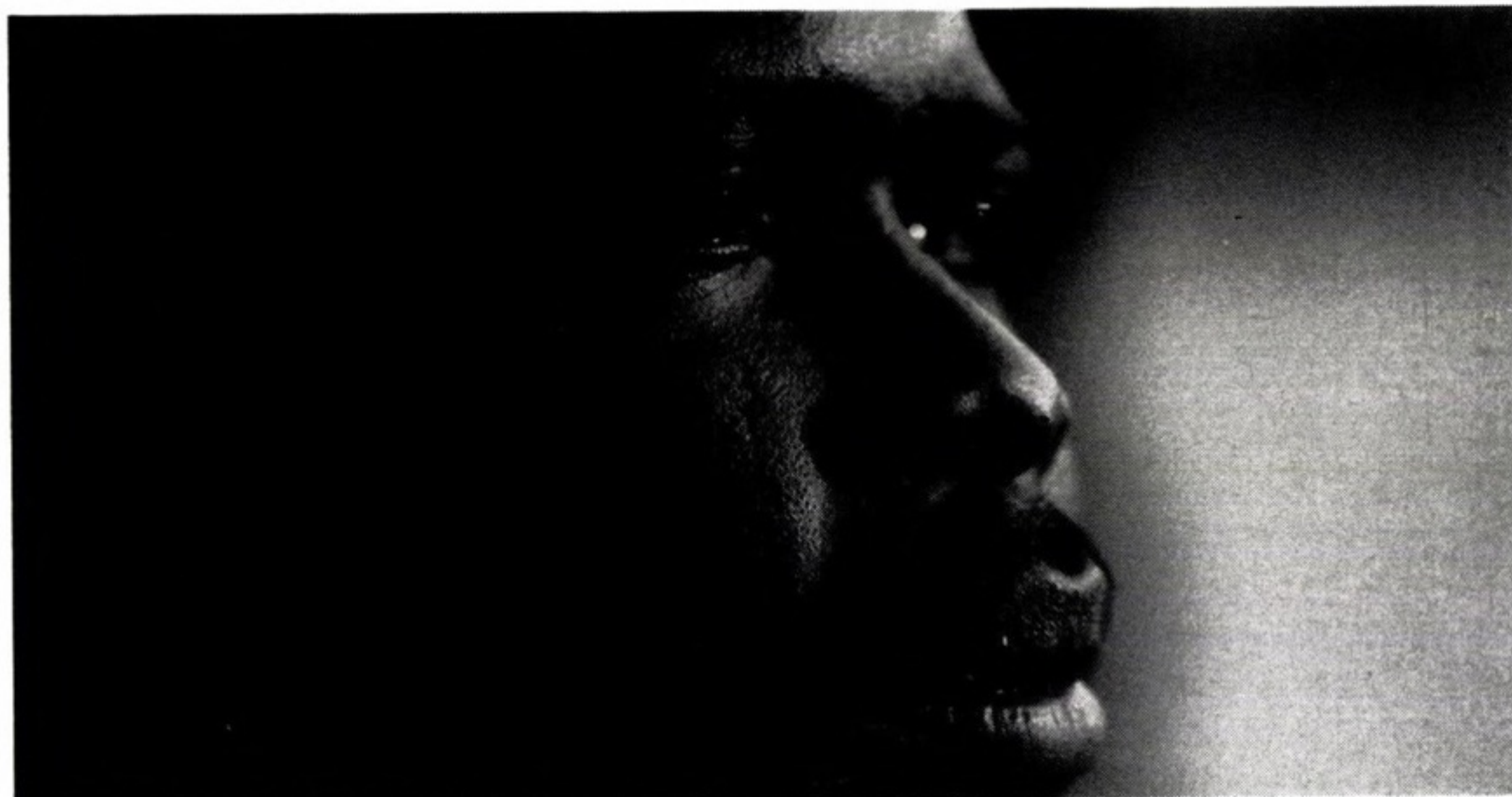
'And still I had my immediate family to think about. How could I ask them to come when my own feet were not firmly on the ground? Anyway under my "limited leave to remain" I was only legally entitled to ask one member of my family to visit after I had been here four years. I received letters from home with joy, but I often ended up sobbing after reading them.

'Finally I could not wait any longer for the slow, grinding wheels of the immigration office. My wife and children came to Britain in 1988, four years after I had arrived, and started asylum procedures when they entered the country.

'By then I was something of an expert in asylum applications. Even so their cases are still being dragged through the bureaucracy. But then, so is mine.

'I attended my last appeal at the Home Office a few months ago. No decisions have been reached on my case. So it's seven years now that I have been living in uncertainty and hope...'

Tajudeen Abdulraheem is the Research Co-ordinator for the London-based Africa Research and Information Bureau (ARIB).



LENNOT SMILLIE/CAMERA PRESS

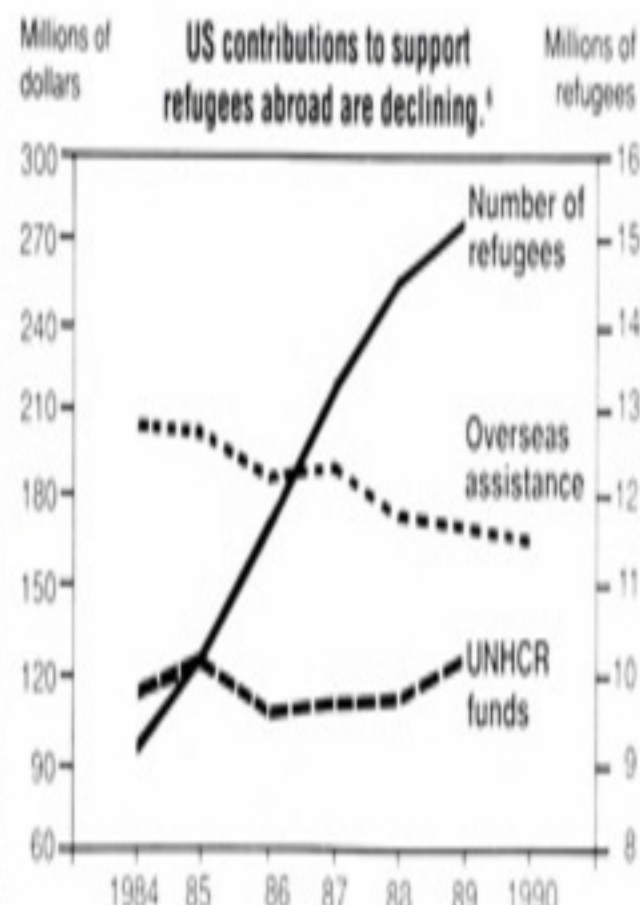
DECLINING DOLLARS

While the numbers of refugees are increasing, government contributions to the international agencies set up to provide for refugees are not keeping pace.

Between 1985 and 1989 the world's refugees increased by 50% while the total spending on refugees increased by just 32% and overseas assistance in general increased by only 7%. The Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees' budget increased by only 25%.³

The Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) spent \$497 million in 1980 and \$550 million in 1990 — an increase of just 10% in 10 years which is a significant decline in real terms.⁴ In 1985 UNHCR total expenditure was \$46 per head on each refugee. By 1989 it had fallen to \$38.⁵

Government contributions to UNHCR have been steadily falling in relative terms. In 1985 the single largest donor (the US) contributed 27% of the UNHCR budget, but only 22% in 1989. More importantly, the US Migration and Refugee Assistance budget provided \$20 per refugee in 1985 but now only provides half that amount.³

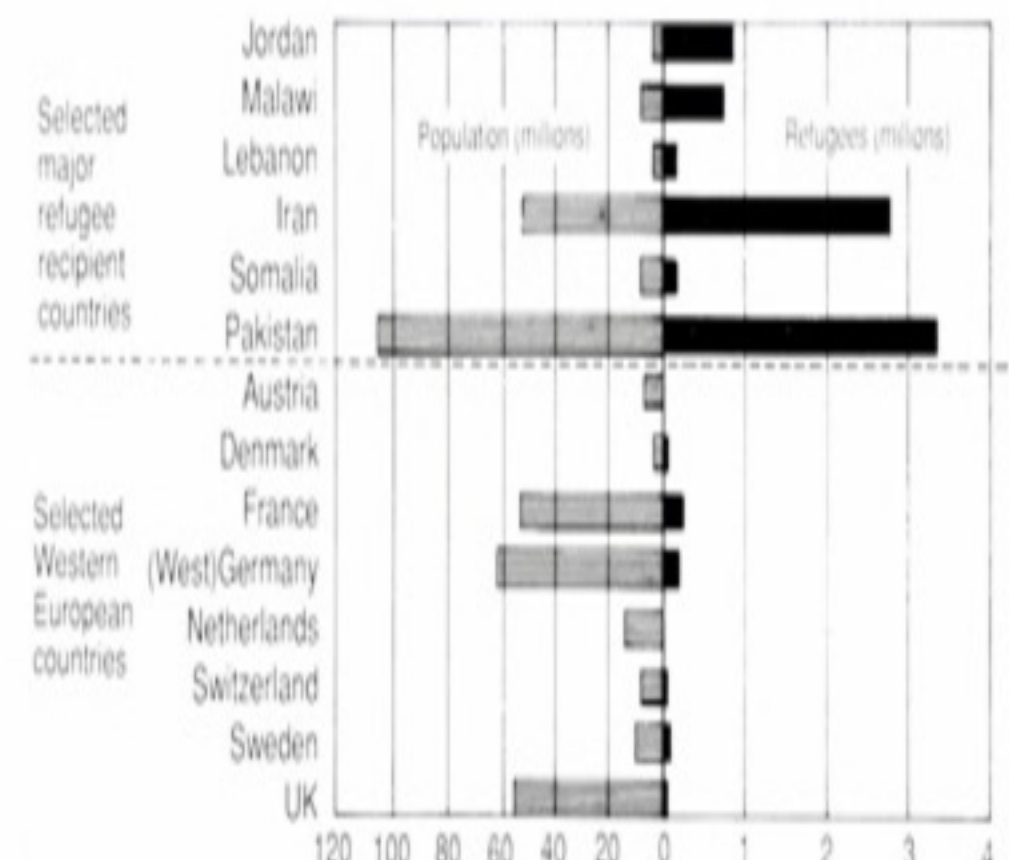


THE number of official refugees now stands at a record 15 million — more than half of whom are children. This is double the number of a decade ago.¹ Over the past 10 years an average of over 3,000 people a day have been forced to leave their homes but provision for them is dwindling.²



GENEROUS SOUTH

Poor Third World countries are far more generous in offering asylum to refugees than rich Western ones. This diagram shows refugees in relation to population.⁹



ILLEGAL IMMIGRANTS

Known and estimated numbers of people who are illegally present in selected EC countries.¹²

Many people are so desperate to escape poverty or persecution that they enter Western countries illegally. Such immigration is increasing.

Country	Known numbers	Total
France	1981-1982	124,101
Spain	1985-1986	43,815

Country	Estimated numbers
Spain	1987-1988 294,000
Germany	1987-1988 70,000
Portugal	1987-1988 60,000

Three million Mexicans, Salvadoreans and other illegal immigrants lodged applications for 'normalization' under the recent regularization programme in the US.¹¹

Italy hosts over one million illegal immigrants from countries bordering Europe, and Spain hosts an estimated 300,000.¹¹

Switzerland estimates that there are 110,000 people unlawfully in the country.¹¹

Japan has 50,000 to 100,000 workers from neighbouring countries including the People's Republic of China.¹¹



INVISIBLE REFUGEES

People who have been made homeless within their own countries are not included in official figures on refugees although estimates suggest they number over 30 million.

The following table shows selected countries in which large numbers of people have been displaced internally as a result of human conflict or forced relocations. They are not usually eligible for international refugee help and no agency is responsible for keeping track of them. Figures are estimates.⁷

Sudan	4,500,000	Liberia	500,000	Guatemala	100,000
South Africa	4,100,000	Iraq	500,000*	India	85,000
Mozambique	2,000,000	Somalia	400,000	Colombia	50,000
Afghanistan	2,000,000	El Salvador	400,000	Turkey	30,000
Sri Lanka	1,000,000	Nicaragua	354,000	Honduras	22,000
Ethiopia	1,000,000	Uganda	300,000		
Philippines	900,000	Cyprus	268,000		
Lebanon	800,000	Burma	200,000		
USSR	750,000	Peru	200,000		
Angola	704,000	Cambodia	140,000		

*The number of displaced Iraqis increased considerably in 1991, to as many as 2 million people.

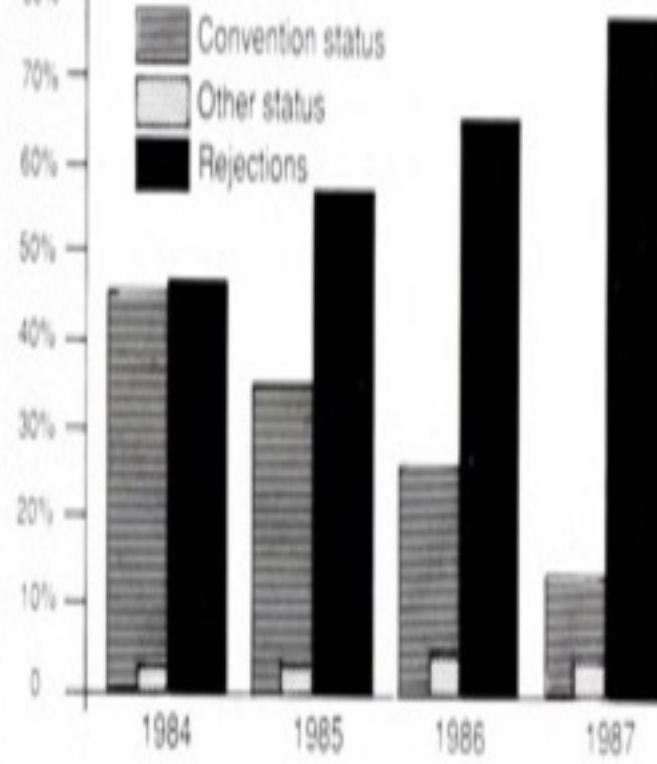
FORTRESS EUROPE

For the past 40 years Western governments have offered asylum to refugees but now the doors are likely to be slammed shut.

Growing numbers of people are seeking asylum in Europe. The figure rose from 13,000 in 1972 to 420,000 in 1990 — nearly half of them to West Germany.

Refugees comprise only 0.17% of Western Europe's population.⁹

The number of people being granted refugee status in Western Europe is declining. The average rate of recognition in Europe between 1983 and 1987 was 35% and a further 20% were allowed to stay on humanitarian grounds. The rest were rejected.¹⁰



US BORDER CONTROL

Over one million people were arrested trying to enter the US illegally in 1990; most were Mexicans fleeing poverty. At least 15 people were shot and killed along the US border in 1990.¹³

Nationality	1988	1989	1990
El Salvador	14,322	20,251	16,953
Guatemala	9,246	13,434	9,707
Honduras	3,943	7,133	5,695
Mexico	949,722	865,292	1,092,258
Nicaragua	3,280	9,375	4,457
All	1,008,145	954,242	1,169,937 ¹⁴



1 British Refugee Council, 1991. 2 Save the Children Fund, Information Bulletin, 1991. 3 US Committee for Refugees, 1990. 4 Nicholas Morris, UNHCR, 1990. 5 Roger P. Winter, Director of US Committee for Refugees. 6 Overseas assistance fund from the US Migration and Refugee Account. House Select Committee on Hunger, US, 1990. 7 United States Committee for Refugees, December, 1990. 8 Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, 1991. 9 Quoted in Refugees in Europe, Minority Rights Group, 1990. 10 According to one UNHCR memorandum from 1988, quoted op cit. 11 Quoted by Jonas Widgren in International Affairs Vol 66, October 1990. 12 Some Economic, Social and Human Rights Considerations Concerning the Future Status of Third Country Nationals in the Single European Market, W. Bohning and J. Werquin, International Labour Organization, 1990. 13 Washington Post, December 11, 1990. 14 Refugee Report, December 21, 1990.



Susan Meiselas, who took these photos, spent around six weeks documenting what happens to those who make the perilous illegal journey across the Tijuana/San Diego border. Sometimes she watched the immigrants arriving in the US. At other times she accompanied the US Border Patrol to photograph them making their arrests: 'It's so random who they happen to catch,' she says. 'Many get through, and those who don't make it first time around, just return to try again.'

Running the gauntlet



At night the US-Mexican border resembles a scene from a Wild West movie. **Beatriz Johnston Hernandez** reports on US efforts to keep the Third World out.

WITH each approaching step toward the US border station at San Ysidro, California, Señora Raquel Saenz' usually confident demeanour began to change. Even before needing to, she began searching in her worn purse for papers, glancing nervously around her for familiar brown faces. Inside, before the blond immigration officer, the transformation was complete: her shoulders were hunched, her eyes pleading, her tone submissive with every word. She was requesting permission to travel into the United States beyond the 25-mile limit on her border permit – the kind that Mexican border residents get to visit, not to stay.

'Señor, por favor, necesito ver a mi hijo en Los Angeles,' she whispered to the agent, explaining her need to see her son, and handing him her passport for inspection.

'Can't you speak English?'

She looked around for help. All she had understood was 'speak English', which she didn't. 'No hablo inglés,' she said, smiling sheepishly.

'Well, learn then.' The agent's answer proved he understood her words, if not her need. Nor did he care that poor knowledge of English is no legal reason for exclusion. 'Go back to Mexico, we can't let you in.' He waived her impatiently toward the door into Mexico and turned to the next Mexican.

Victor Clark Alfaro, director of a well-known human rights office in Tijuana, Mexico, squirmed as he looked on from another queue. Moved by the woman's ordeal, he was nonetheless offended by her air of servility. 'It makes me angry to see my compatriots assume that posture,' he said later, 'but we have no choice. Here the migrants can't demand. We Mexicans are approaching the North Americans as a people in need. If we had the same level of economic development as they do, we wouldn't be so submissive.'

The US-Mexico border – that 1,950-mile long economic faultline between First and Third World – developed and underdeveloped, brown-skinned and white, is principally a line of exclusion.

When Clark Alfaro faced the immigration agent at the head of his queue – also to request permission to travel beyond the 25-mile limit – she asked him for an unreasonable amount of proof to show he would not remain in the US. When he could not produce his electricity bill receipt, she denied his request. Angrily, he stuck his ticket to Los Angeles, only 150 miles away, back into his pocket.

'You can't fight them,' he said. 'If you argue, they simply tear up your documents.'

The border has been the US's first line of defence against the Third World since the line was drawn in 1848 after President

Zachary Taylor invaded Mexico. This he did on the pretext that Mexicans had mistreated some North American marines, but with the real purpose of extending US frontiers to the Pacific Ocean. After easily defeating the Mexicans, the US military sat Mexican President Santana down and, some say at gunpoint, made him sign away half of Mexico's northern territory for a mere \$12 million. It must be the sweetest real estate deal in US history.

Now, to keep the Mexicans and the Third World out, the US Government has 4,000 Border Patrol agents on the US-Mexico border – compared with only 275 agents patrolling the entire US boundary with Canada. No wonder then that the San Ysidro-Tijuana border point, most commonly used for illicit crossings, is so militarized.

Between the pockmarked streets of Tijuana with its cardboard houses, tacky tourist traps, dirty cops, worn prostitutes and child thieves, and the mighty US with its superfast freeways, sparkling shopping malls, and facelifted ladies – is the border, the ugly wild-west of the 20th century, which knows only bad guys and victims.

'At night it's like a war zone,' says former San Diego Councillor Robert Filner. 'It's like living in a movie set. You look

up and you don't know if that helicopter is the Border Patrol's, the National Guard's, the Sheriff's... it's crazy.'

In San Diego, as well as other border points, migrants face a gauntlet of police forces that include agents from the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS), Customs, the Joint INS-San Diego Police Border Crime Prevention Unit, the National Guard, the Drug Enforcement Agency, the Sheriffs, Army and Marine Units.

The INS Border Patrol monitors the border with sophisticated electronic intrusion and heat sensors, radar, helicopters, and fixed-wing aircraft with nightscopes. And in spite of it all, illegal immigration in San Diego is up to record levels.

Mexico's economic crisis has dragged

salaries down to three dollars a day; indeed economic woes are pushing migrants north from all over Latin America, particularly from Nicaragua, Argentina and Peru. And civil war in El Salvador and Guatemala continues to expel young people to relative safety in the US.

Gustavo de la Vina, chief of Border Patrol in San Diego, where the 12-mile frontier is the most concentrated illicit crossing zone, says his agents make an average of 1,830 arrests daily, mostly after dark. And this is only a fraction of the people who throw their fate into the unknown. Their desperation is such that two out of three make it across undetected.

For the others, the anguished decision to leave their homes and their language, their familiar smells, customs and rituals, is often met with terrible cruelty in the half mile between Mexico and Freeway 5 – the first sign of relative safety in America.

Shootings, rape, extortion and killings of Latino migrants are rampant and increasing. The militarization of the border, after all, is to exclude, not protect migrants. And the Border Crime Prevention Unit is often the perpetrator. In the five years following its inception in 1984, its agents, a mixture of Border Patrol and San Diego police, killed 20 migrants. A further 814 people reported to the American Friends

Service Committee abuse at the hands of the border control between May 1988 and May 1989. This included inappropriate use of firearms, verbal and physical abuse and psychological coercion.

Just last June, INS officer James Edward Riley was charged with repeatedly abducting illegal immigrant women and threatening to deport them unless they had sex with him. His trial is pending. But violence is so widespread that INS Commissioner, Gene McNary, citing 'escalating violence', called for an unprecedented review of lethal force used by his agents last December.

In addition there are the Mexican bandits who carry knives and use them on women and men alike. After all, both carry money, \$1000 and more, to pay their guide, buy bus fares and fund the first weeks of a new life.

There are also the white supremacists. Last year Fox TV aired a film of teenagers with painted faces beating illegal immigrants. It asserted that 'secret paramilitary groups' harassed and sometimes shot undocumented workers.

A recent letter sent to Robert Martinez, San Diego director of the American Friends Service Committee, starts off: 'Robert, you dirty fucking spic greaser, you better start keeping your mouth shut about your grease tribe coming over the border... this illegal crossing has been going on for too long and white power is not going to let you have political clout over it... You are coming down to your time now. The cops are going to start shooting you Mexicans wholesale soon, and there will be nothing you can do about it.' The letter was signed by 'The White Fighting Machine of the Cross'. ■

Beatriz Johnston Hernandez is a freelance journalist based in San Francisco.



SUSAN MEISELAS/MAGNUM

SIMPLY – The history of borders

Rulers and governments have often tried to control people's freedom of movement. NI tells the story.

1. Ancient migrations

Human history is the history of migration and the most sophisticated civilizations arose where human traffic was heaviest. The Ancient Near East, the Indian sub-continent, China, the Americas, Europe – all had constant influxes of migrants bringing new ideas and change. And in ancient Greece the Delphic priests regarded the right of unfettered movement as one of four freedoms distinguishing liberty from slavery. Because they did not feel responsible for newcomers, rulers often saw them as an asset rather than a liability. They would add to a region's wealth, contribute to taxes and serve in local armies.



2. Bonded serfs

People moved constantly all over the world – be they Vikings, Crusaders or Chinese emigrants. Large scale restrictions, however, were imposed with the introduction of serfdom in Europe under the Roman Empire during the third and fourth centuries AD. Initially, controls were lax but under the Roman Emperor Constantine (AD 309–37) serfs were forbidden to leave their work place and had to accept whatever conditions their lords imposed. The Romans even introduced the first 'passport' – a document requesting safe passage for the bearer. By mediaeval times a large part of Europe's population was bound in place and traded like chattels. Movement was considered inimical to order and the possibility for human migration was restricted mainly to wars.



3. Nation states

But during the early Renaissance period a new social order emerged founded on wage labourers. Serfdom started to die out, but was not replaced by free movement. Instead rulers and governments tried to increase the power of the state. People were viewed as wealth, a valuable workforce to be kept within a country's borders. Rulers even encouraged immigration by offering newcomers citizenship, tax incentives and other benefits. The ideology of nationalism which was developing at this time united a vast range of cultural groups and classes on the basis of loyalty to the state while designating others as 'outsiders'. Countries like Spain and France ordered mass expulsions of ethnic or religious minorities. By the end of the 16th century Jews had been driven out of most of Western and Central Europe and an estimated 175,000 Protestants were expelled from the Spanish Netherlands.



4. Slave labour

More horrific than these expulsions, however, was the shipment of millions of West Africans to slavery in the Americas – the largest involuntary migration in history. It was nothing new – Islamic states had been enslaving Africans since 650AD – but Europeans wanted them as labourers to help them push forward the frontiers in the New World. In all, between eight and ten million Africans were taken to the Americas from the sixteenth to the nineteenth century – four to five times the number of European colonialists arriving in Africa during the same period. Dr David Livingstone, the nineteenth century missionary, claimed that at least ten lives were lost for each slave that arrived.

5. Colonial controls

Although they needed to populate their colonies, most European governments tried to maintain strict control over who the settlers should be. Spanish citizens could only enter Spanish colonies with a licence proving they were 'neither Jews nor Moors, nor children of such, nor sons or grandsons of any that have been punished, condemned or burnt as heretics, or for heretical crimes'. Anyone going illegally would forfeit their property, be forced to return to Spain at their own expense and be excommunicated. The death penalty was imposed in 1607 for any ship's officer illegally carrying passengers to the Indies. The British, however, had the opposite attitude and shipped their dissenters overseas to places like Australia. And when they opened their colonies to settlement in the early eighteenth century, domestic depopulation became a serious problem. National passports were introduced and by the end of the eighteenth century were obligatory in most European countries.



6. Right to leave

By the end of the seventeenth century 'liberal' thinkers like John Locke were questioning a ruler's right to restrict the movement of the individual. Such questions gained support from a new school of economics led by Adam Smith, which preached the virtues of free trade and a free labour market. Border controls were relaxed and for a few decades monied people in the West could largely choose where they went. The need to increase domestic populations was replaced by a concern with over-population as social unrest and unemployment had grown by the end of the Napoleonic Wars in 1815. The British Government began organizing and assisting emigration. Other European countries followed suit and the New World was settled in the following century by people exercising this right to leave.



7. Changing course

However during the nineteenth century the migration flow reversed. People no longer surged from developed Europe to new areas of the globe. Instead migrants streamed northwards from less developed areas: North Africans into France, Italian peasants to New York. Racism proliferated as nationalists cultivated the view of outsiders as dangerous to the health of a nation – a threat to its security and way of life. European countries which had been open to political exiles during Victorian times began restricting the entry of immigrants. These controls grew stronger after 1848 when the revolutions produced a flood of political refugees from the German states and Hungary, and intensified at the close of the century after a wave of anarchist attacks.



8. War wounds

Waves of refugees swept across Europe in the early twentieth century. Hundreds of thousands roamed the Balkan peninsula in the decade before World War One. The post-war political realignment of territories that occurred after the four great European empires collapsed made many more thousands homeless. By the 1920s immigration controls were tightened and passports – which had fallen into disuse in many places – were reintroduced. The Second World War brought another exodus as intensified aerial bombardment left massive numbers homeless. Hitler's Luftwaffe scattered tens of thousands in the *Blitzkrieg* of Poland and France, while the British and Americans deliberately uprooted massive numbers of civilians to facilitate the invasion of the German Reich. States turned a cold eye upon these newcomers; the Allies provided not one ship to carry Jewish escapees from Romania, Turkey or other countries when doing so might have saved thousands of lives.

9. Fortress world

Nation-building in the Third World during the twentieth century has created mass migrations on an unprecedented scale. New regimes have persecuted ethnic minorities in attempts to 'consolidate' the nation while dissident voices have been silenced by large-scale human rights abuses. Wars, poverty, environmental degradation have also left millions homeless. But faced by the rising tidal wave of need, the West has tightened immigration controls further still. Even traditional places of refuge for asylum-seekers are vanishing, as schemes to deport refugees are implemented and asylum claims are dismissed. Moreover, immigration controls are set to tighten still further, especially with the creation of a single European Community in 1992, which will deny access to outsiders except as part of a strictly controlled workforce.



Source: Much of this material derives from *Closed Borders: The Contemporary Assault on the Freedom of Movement* by Alan Dowty (Yale University Press, 1987)



BRENDA PRINCE/FORMAT

The unending journey of Ryan Sulat

Five years old and no place to hide. Ryan Sulat is one of the many war victims who roam the Philippines seeking refuge – but whom the world refuses to recognize as refugees. Sheila Coronel reports.

RYAN Sulat, aged five, has spent most of his short life searching for a safe haven. He was only one year old when heavily armed soldiers and anti-communist vigilantes sprayed his home with bullets, forcing his family to flee their mountain village in the central Philippine island of Leyte. Since then he has lived in slums, convents, school dormitories, even a prison yard, unable to return to his village because the vigilantes still rule there.

He is twice a victim: once of an increasingly brutal war launched by the Philippine Armed Forces against guerrillas of the communist New People's Army; and once of an international system of human rights which offers no protection to millions like him worldwide because, by remaining

within their country's borders, they do not fall within internationally agreed definitions of what constitutes a 'refugee'.

Ryan's story is that of an estimated one million people in the Philippines – most of them children – who fled their homes between 1987 to 1990 because of the fighting. His parents are farmers who also campaigned actively for a left-wing political party accused of fronting for the communists. For this vigilantes tried to kill them.

Flotsam on the sea

They escaped to the capital, Manila, where they joined other escapees who were living in an unused dormitory at Manila University. Within weeks police raided the dormitory and in the ensuing panic, the one-year-old was seized with convulsions

and had to be rushed to hospital. While he was there police arrested his father and 20 other refugees.

For one year Ryan and his mother, Teresita, travelled from convent to convent relying on the priests and nuns to care for them. They tried going home to their village. But the vigilantes threatened them again. So they returned to Manila where they share a slum today with other refugees. 'We are like flotsam on the sea,' says Teresita, 'We go where the current takes us'.

Just five years ago people like the Sulat family had great hopes for peace. The dictator Ferdinand Marcos had been ousted by a popular uprising. Corazon Aquino had become president of the Philippines and her Government had initiated negotiations

with the communist rebels. A truce in the 20-year guerrilla war was declared.

Within months the talks broke down. In 1987 Mrs Aquino warned that it was time to 'unsheathe the sword of war'. Since then military operations have increased in size and intensity.

The Philippine army is following a classic counter-insurgency tactic: terrorizing suspected guerrilla 'popular bases' to deprive the rebels of support and restrict their movements. Bombs and artillery are sprayed over villages suspected of being communist strongholds. And afterwards soldiers and anti-communist vigilantes sweep down, burning and looting the homes of those suspected of being communist supporters.

Thousands have fled. The largest military offensive to date in the central Philippine island of Negros caused 35,000 to flee their homes in 1989, streaming down from the mountains to makeshift camps on the plains. With minimal support from international agencies they had little food and water and 143 children died from measles and diarrhoea.

Official non-existence

The evacuations continue. Early this year the military used fighter planes and helicopter gunships to bombard villages in the Marag valley in northern Philippines. The aerial bombardment forced 3,000 Isneg tribes-people to hide in caves while soldiers looted and burnt the huts, torched the ricefields and carted away farm animals. Months later a private medical mission found the tribes-people subsisting on leaves and rootcrops; over 100 of their children had already died of hunger and disease.

All over the Philippines today refugees live in cramped school houses, makeshift huts, convents and hospitals. They endure overcrowding, abysmal sanitary conditions and inadequate food and water. Medical workers are rare. Many children and old people succumb to disease. And attempts to help by the international aid community are severely disabled by the fact that officially the refugees do not exist.

The Philippine Government does not recognize the phenomenon of internal displacement because doing so would be to admit its own excesses and provide grist for the rebels' propaganda mill, as well as shattering the already fragile support for the counter-insurgency war among civilian officials.

And without the Government's official invitation international relief agencies are reluctant to tackle the problem. 'We have no right to assist displaced families if the Government refuses,' says Paul Fruh, from the International Committee of the Red Cross in the Philippines. 'We are operating

THE guerrilla war in the Philippines became entrenched during the regime of Ferdinand Marcos, who was elected President in 1965. He and his wife Imelda amassed a huge fortune through corruption which they squandered on follies including a mini-village to house the Pope and his entourage during a visit which never happened, the luxurious 'Palace in the Sky' built for Nancy and Ronald Reagan who also never arrived and the Bataan nuclear-power station which cost over two billion US dollars – and had to be abandoned because it was built on a fault line in the most earthquake-prone region.

In 1972 – the year before Marcos was constitutionally required to retire – he declared martial law. The ensuing strike-free climate proved very attractive to foreign



Ferdinand and Imelda: Creators of today's mess.

investors. US aid was stepped up, commercial loans flooded in. And much of this money too streamed into the Marcos coffers.

Popular resistance to the Marcos regime grew. By the late 1970s mass actions by students and the urban poor were supported by the church, while in the countryside people flocked to join the military wing of the New Communist Party of the Philippines – the New People's Army (NPA). In 1981 Marcos lifted martial law and declared himself re-elected in another rigged ballot.

Then in 1983 one of Marcos's fiercest critics, Benigno Aquino, was shot at the airport as he returned from exile. Millions mourned him. And they seized their chance to rid themselves of Marcos when he called a snap election in 1985 in which he ran against Aquino's widow, Cory. Marcos rigged a victory. But the people took to the streets. They even won over the military. Finally the US withdrew its support and Marcos and Imelda fled to Hawaii.

But President Cory Aquino has not solved the old problems of poverty and injustice. Coming herself from one of the largest land-owning families, her negotiations with the New People's Army collapsed because she could not offer a convincing land-reform programme. Since then she has declared a 'total war' against the NPA which has claimed many lives. Military leaders have plotted coups against her. And the army along with the paramilitary vigilante groups it encourages, have transformed parts of the country into war-zones.

on the Government's goodwill.'

So the burden of documenting, sheltering, feeding and rehabilitating refugees in the Philippines falls to the churches – 85 per cent of all Filipinos are Catholic – and to inadequately staffed and funded private relief organizations. Often those who help the refugees are themselves accused of being rebel sympathizers: several have been arrested by the military or prevented from entering areas where the refugees are camped.

New body

The problem is that international agencies are only mandated to help those people officially classified as 'refugees' – defined by international agencies as 'those who have crossed national borders because of well-founded fears of persecution, human rights violations or internal conflict.' Those displaced *within* national boundaries are excluded from this definition – even though worldwide they probably far exceed the numbers of official 'refugees'.

Exactly how many of these unfortunate people there are no-one knows because no agency exists to document them. And there are no international standards of treatment

to protect them outside the Geneva Convention, which has not been ratified by all states. Moreover no agency exists to see that the Convention is actually observed or to protect those who fall outside its mantle. And governments alone are not reliable protectors for, as in the Philippines, they are often themselves the cause of displacement.

Desperately needed is a new, politically neutral body specifically mandated by the international community to protect the rights of the internally displaced. It should have the ability to document and monitor the internally displaced, develop international standards for their protection and ensure that these are observed. It should also define the responsibilities of governments to protect people uprooted from their homes by armed conflict or human rights violations, ensuring that their needs are met and their rights respected.

Until such a body exists increasing numbers of children like Ryan will grow up homeless, scarred by violence and with no-one in the world to turn to. ■

Sheila Coronel is a Filipina journalist and director of the Philippine Centre for Investigative Journalism.

Mixed blood

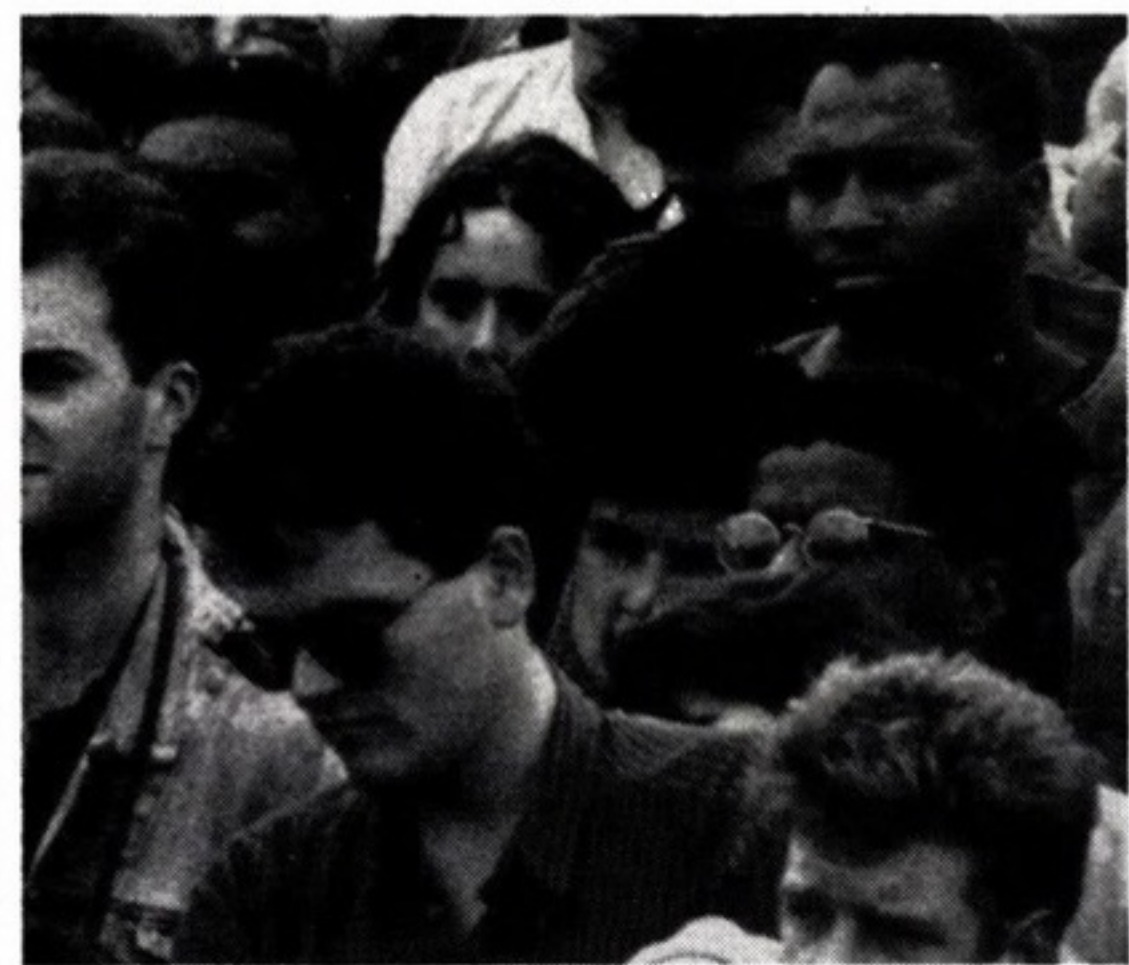
Immigrants bring a wealth of colour and experience to enrich the life of a city, as Erica Simmons discovers in downtown Toronto.

In 1971 Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau made it official – Canada has no official culture. Two Prime Ministers later we got it enshrined in the 'Canadian Multi-culturalism Act' of 1988 which says that every Canadian's cultural background is entitled to equal respect under the law.

Today, if your children's Mandarin or Punjabi is faltering, you can send them to Government-sponsored 'heritage language' classes. And if you are interested in the history of Jewish socialists in Toronto, you can apply for money from the Ministry of Multi-culturalism to study it.

There is resentment, of course. Monarchists feel marginalized. Tenth-generation Canadians search archives for evidence of more exotic ancestral strains. And everybody wanders the streets of Toronto pretending to be in China, Italy, India, Poland, Greece or the Caribbean some nostalgically and some of us wistfully.

For more than half of the nearly four million people in this city have non-British origins. Toronto is one of the most multi-cultural cities on the planet.



JOANNE O'BRIEN/FORMAT

Living in downtown Toronto I am so accustomed to hearing Italian and Portuguese that the rare sound of English grates on my ears. I shop for children's clothes at stores with signs like 'abbi gliamento por bambini'. Like my neighbours, I expect cappuccino pots to look like works of art, and to be on sale in video stores and butcher shops. I know that a 'sports bar' is not a health club, but a place where men go to watch other men play soccer on a ten-foot television screen.

For a more heterogeneous ethnic experience, I visit nearby Kensington Market, which is 'an immigrant reception area'. This means every group of immigrants that ever arrived in Toronto has planted a commercial outpost there and quickly adapted to a constantly changing clientele.

You have to watch what you say in the Market and which language you say it in – the shopkeepers all seem to have doctorates in comparative linguistics. You must also look where you are going lest you be trampled by a passing Chinese dragon parade or a group of elderly black-hatted men on their way to sabbath services at the 'People of Minsk' synagogue.

Of course, it takes some people more time to mellow. Last week, I went into a newly opened store to find three men named 'Yossi' yelling at each other in Hebrew: 'I know, I know, you already told me. Be quiet! Stop lecturing me!'

You can read the immigrant history of this city in almost any downtown street. Houses with rusting mezzuzahs in their doorposts are now adorned with florid tiles bearing pictures of Portuguese saints. In the heart of Chinatown you hear black gospel music through the open windows of the First Baptist Church, established in 1829 by refugee slaves from the US. The century-old synagogue nearby is now a Chinese community centre.

Perhaps most extraordinary of all is Chinatown with its scores of restaurants, grocery stores and herbalists; a fortune-teller who specializes in 'Destiny Reform' and a toy shop where you can buy a 'lovely ugly doll'. The thousands who live and shop here are mostly Chinese with only a sprinkling of curious, bargain-hungry outsiders.

In Chinatown, I don't even consider feeling insulted when a tiny old woman with piercing eyes follows me down the aisles of her son's shop and stands by my elbow while I look at the merchandise. When she finally pounces on my shopping bag and looks inside without a word, I chalk it up as cross-cultural experience.

Some people would be infuriated by that prying old woman and the screaming Israelis. They are often angry when shopkeepers, waiters and receptionists speak pidgin English. Some blame the Government's multi-culturalism policy for encouraging immigrants to remain strangers.

And true multi-cultural Toronto can make you feel like a tourist in your own home. But for me this is the city's greatest attraction. Toronto's ethnic neighbourhoods offer a taste of countries we might never visit. You may not always like the cultures you meet but you learn plenty. ■

Erica Simmons is a Toronto-based free-lance journalist.

ACTION DIRECTORY

Useful Organizations

AOTEAROA (NZ) Refugee and Migrant Commission, PO Box 11-236, Wellington. Tel (04) 711 932.

AUSTRALIA Refugee Council of Australia, Second Floor Pasadena House, 86-90 Bay Street, Broadway, NSW. Tel (02) 212 6942.

CANADA Inter-Church Council for Refugees, 40 St Clair Street East, Toronto, Ontario. Canadian Council for Refugees, 2485 De Maissonne West, Montreal H3Z 1K7. Tel (314) 932 2752. Refugee and Immigration Service, Jesuit Centre, 947 Queen Street East, Toronto, Ontario, M4M 1J9.

UK See pages 29 and 30 (UK only).

US The US Committee for Refugees, 1025



GEORGE FRANKLIN/NETWORK

Vermont Avenue NW., Suite 920, Washington, DC 20005. Tel (202) 347 3507. United Nations High Commission for Refugees, UN Head Quarters, UN Plaza, New York, NY 10017. Tel (212) 963 0074/6200. American Friends Service Committee, 1501 Cherry Street, Philadelphia, PA 19102. Tel (215) 241 7000. Is in touch with the Sanctuary Movement. Refugee Policy Group, 1424 16th Street, NW, Suite 401, Washington DC 20036. Tel (202) 387 3015. American Refugee Committee, Nicollet Avenue, Rm 350, Minneapolis, MN 55404. Tel (612) 872 7060. Lutheran Immigration and Refugee Service, 360 Park Avenue South, New York, NY 10016. Tel (212) 532 6350. Migration and Refugee Service, US Catholic Conference, 1312 Massachusetts Avenue, NW Washington, DC 20005. Tel (202) 659 6618.

INTERNATIONAL International Committee of the Red Cross, 17 Avenue de la Paix, CH-1202 Geneva, Switzerland. Tel (022) 34 60 01. Intergovernmental Committee for Migration, 17, Route des Morillons, PO Box 71, CH-1211, Geneva 19, Switzerland. Tel (022) 980066. Centre for Documentation on Refugees, 5-7 Avenue de la Paix, 1202 Geneva, Switzerland, Tel (022) 310-261. United Nations High Commission for Refugees, Case Postale 2500, CH-1211 Geneva 2 Depot, Switzerland. Tel (739) 81 11.

Worth reading on... the dispossessed

Closed Borders, The Contemporary Assault on Freedom of Movement, Alan Dowty (Yale University Press, 1987). Provocative and comprehensive account. **Refugees, Dynamics of Displacement: A Report for the Independent Commission on International Humanitarian Issues**, (Zed Books, 1986). Good analysis of the global pressures. **Refugees in Europe**, (Minority Rights, 1990). Good account of the plight facing refugees coming to Europe. **We left because we had to** – an educational book for 14-18 year olds, (The Refugee Council, 1991). Brilliant teaching aid. Available from The Refugee Council. **Imagine there's no country**, Steve Cohen (Greater Manchester Immigration Unit, 1991) Detailed account of tightening immigration controls.



THE DISPOSSESSED

THE EXILE'S GIFT TO BRITAIN

If you relied on certain newspapers for your information, you could be forgiven for thinking that every refugee across the globe is determinedly travelling to the UK. These papers portray a cunning group of immigrants trying to enter this country, spurred on by prospects of claiming benefits. Not true. Only around five per cent of the world's refugees travel to Europe and a small proportion of this number come to Britain. Organizations working with refugees and asylum-seekers in the UK know that their clients have genuine cases.

But the newspapers reflect common social attitudes. The 'bad press' for refugees has coincided with a government review of asylum policy. And announcements made so far in the House of Commons amount to a 'crack down' on asylum-seekers, in the opinion of agencies working with refugees in Britain.

The problem is that officials invariably see refugees negatively. Asylum-seekers are considered a burden, as people who will take everything and give nothing. But given the right sort of initial help, refugees can make extremely positive contributions to the country, both as individuals and as groups.

Take the self-help groups and small firms set up by refugees. Rather than depending on officialdom to help them, refugees have provided themselves with mutual support, advice sessions, counselling, old people's clubs and even Saturday schools! Different cultures flourish alongside each other, often with a real sense of community.

Supplementary schools are another example. These are classes run by ethnic groups who want to study their mother-

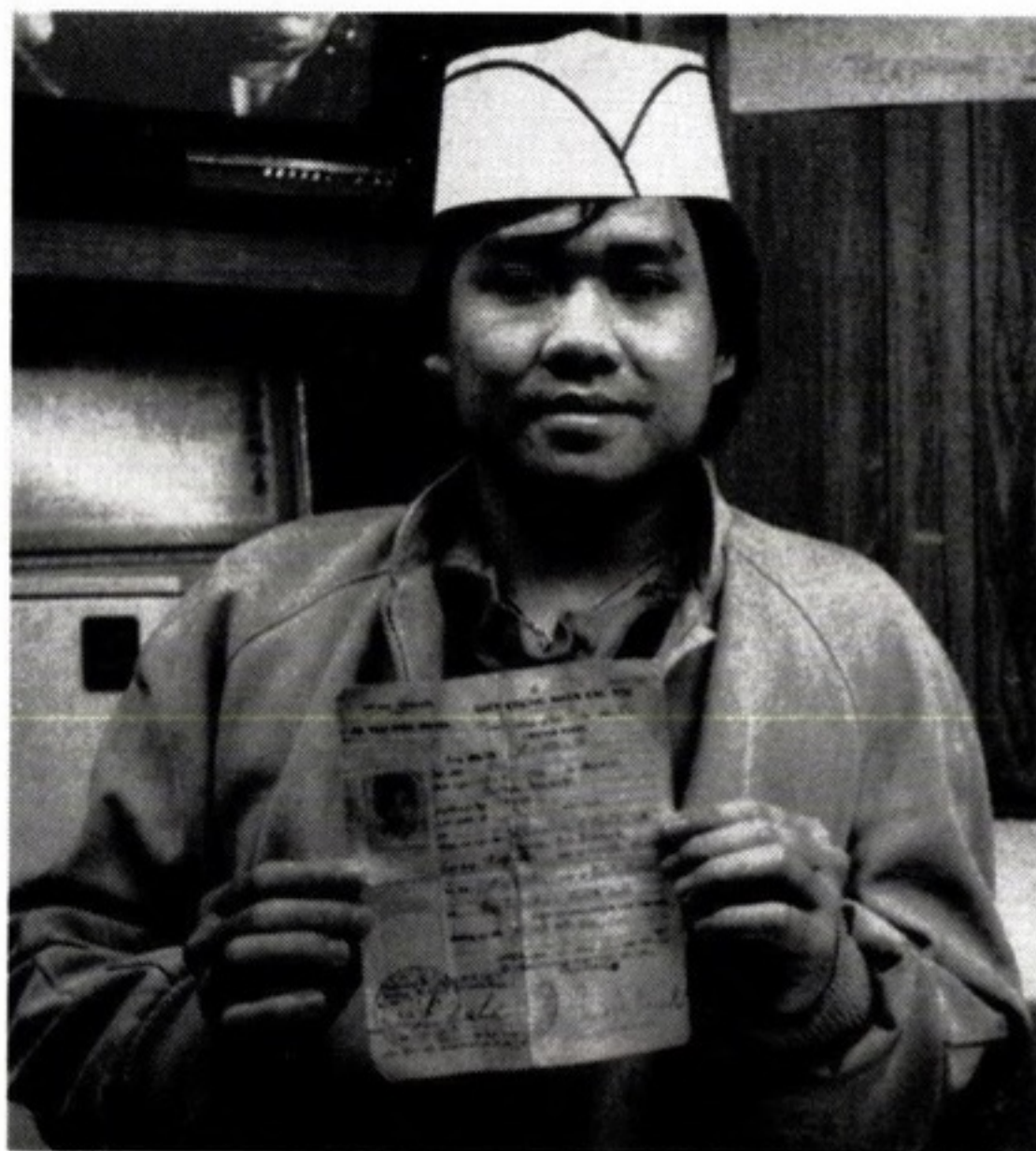


PHOTOS: HOWARD J. DAVIES/WOMBAT PHOTOGRAPHY

Refugee children learn their own language at weekend classes run by the Kurdish community in London.

tongue – or learn their culture's traditional practices. Teachers tend to be volunteers. Premises can be school buildings or community halls.

You might think that going to school on a Saturday would be rather unpopular. But where they exist, demand for such classes is high. Tamil, Vietnamese, Somali, Armenian ... a whole host of languages are on offer in London, Manchester, Sheffield – anywhere where there are ethnic communities. Of course the schools suffer severe financial pressure. But the commitment to the classes is high, and their existence is itself a success.



Vietnamese refugee shows his escape papers.

Training schemes also boast high levels of success. The trainees tend to be highly motivated and persist while others drop out, to achieve places at college or win jobs in which the training can be used. The scheme run by the Refugee Council reports a success rate of around 75 per cent.

But in order to fulfil their potential, refugees arriving in Britain need help. These people did not choose to come here. They had to come to escape danger and

FACT BOX

There are more than a hundred refugee community organizations in London, and scores of others elsewhere in Britain.

Refugees in this country come from a wide range of backgrounds. Most recent arrivals are largely from Somalia, Sri Lanka, Ethiopia, Uganda and Zaire.

Last year there were around 22,000 applications for asylum. Each will take more than a year to process. The majority will not be given full 'refugee status' but will instead be allowed 'Exceptional Leave to Remain'.

persecution. Their escape may have been traumatic. They may be confused and alone. A welcoming and open-minded approach by British people and by officialdom will help the newcomers settle – and remove barriers and obstacles that prevent them from contributing fully to life here. ■

Paula Keaveney for the Refugee Council Policy Unit.

WHAT IS A TYPICAL REFUGEE?

Ron Baker was a refugee from Nazi Germany. Sent to Britain when he was only six, he was fostered by a family in Salford near Manchester. Ron has worked as a psychiatric nurse, a social worker and a university lecturer. He is also an author.

Nazmu Virani fled Uganda 19 years ago. A Ugandan Asian, he was one of thousands given 90 days to leave his country by Idi Amin. He found sanctuary in Britain and now he heads a multi-million-pound hotel and leisure group.

Jack Shiegh is a Vietnamese refugee who took sanctuary in the UK. Today he is Director of Refugee Action, a charity involved in resettling other Vietnamese in Britain.

THE REFUGEE COUNCIL

The Refugee Council publishes information on refugees around the world. The organization works directly with asylum-seekers in Britain, running hostels and a training centre. It is also an umbrella organisation representing the interests of refugees in Britain and overseas.

The information section publishes a free monthly newsletter, 'EXILE', and a series of leaflets and booklets, many free. It can be contacted on 071 582 6922 or by writing to 3 Bondway, London, SW8 1SJ.

DON'T MISS

THE DISPOSSESSED

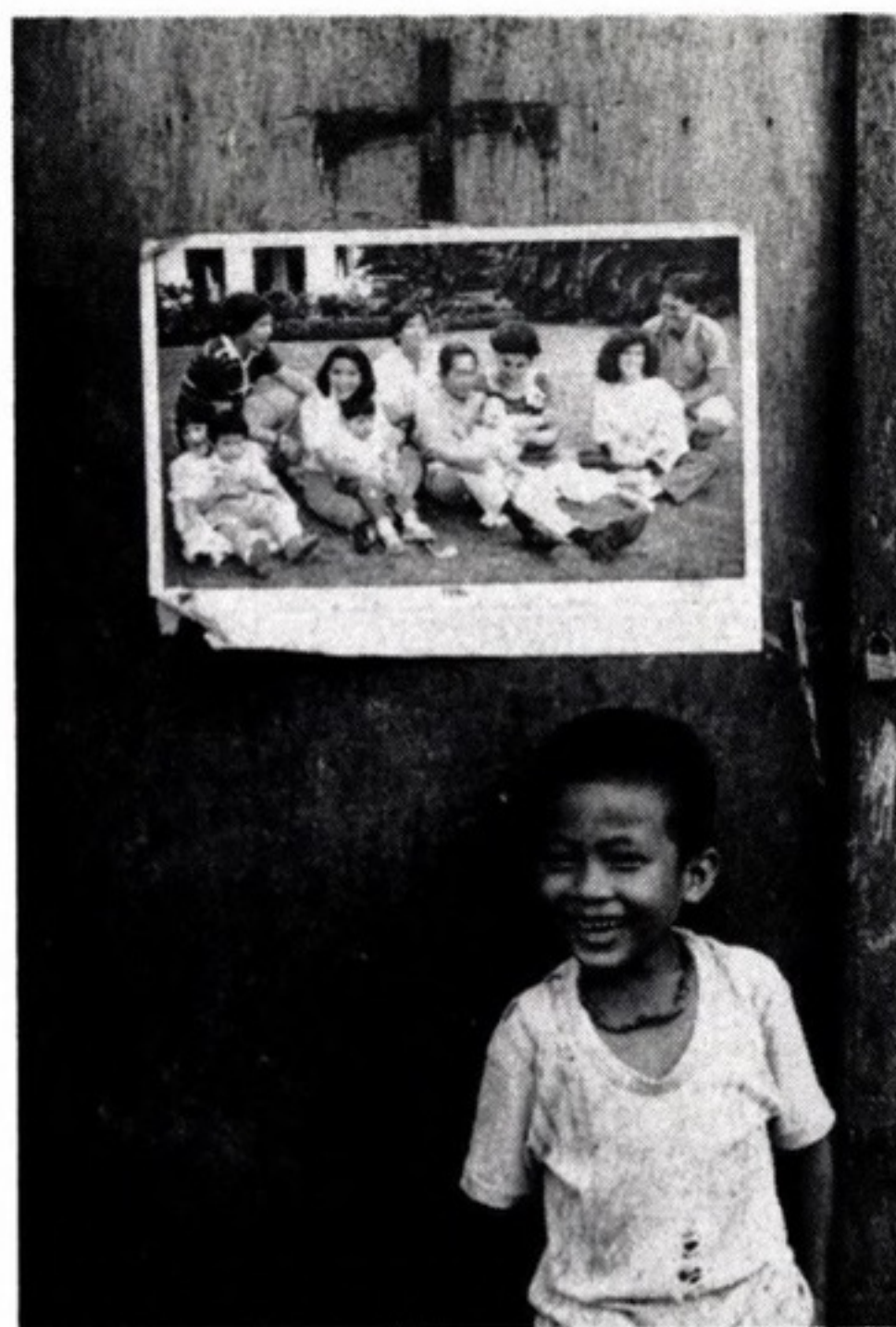
AN INTERNATIONAL BROADCASTING
TRUST/YORKSHIRE TV PRODUCTION
FOR CHANNEL 4 TELEVISION
WEDNESDAYS AT 9PM STARTING
SEPTEMBER 4TH.

In this major four-part international series, Yorkshire TV's 'First Tuesday' team takes us right into the heart of families who have been uprooted from their homes, separated from their loved ones and forced to leave behind their source of livelihood. The films look at the dilemmas facing the world's displaced people and also pose searching questions about what causes people to flee, about the inadequacy of the response by the rich and powerful nations and about the desperate need for immediate solutions.

We are taken to Malawi, where an astonishing one in ten of the population are refugees received by the host country from war-torn neighbouring Mozambique. Yet despite the generosity of such a poor country and the efforts of hardworking UNHCR staff, the picture is one of hunger, sickness and desperation. Why has the international response been so inadequate? What changes are needed to the international aid machinery to help refugees?



Many viewers will have been moved by the plight of the Kurds on their television screens recently. But do they know about the 20 million other internally displaced people who have crossed no country boundaries and therefore do not have the benefit of any co-ordinated international protection or assistance? The second film takes us to the Philippines where the civilian population has fallen victim to a war waged by government forces against communist-inspired guerrillas. We follow a 15-year-old boy whose family is forced to flee after the murder of his father by paramilitary forces. The film is an appeal to the international community to recognise the internally displaced and to give much greater priority to human rights.



The third film examines the dilemmas of repatriation in the context of the world's largest refugee exodus - the Afghans in Pakistan. With the warming of the Cold War, there is a temptation to see repatriation as the best solution. But does this stem from a demand from the refugees themselves of pressure from international donors? And what are returnees going back to?

The final film looks at whether Western governments are turning their backs on the liberal approach that prompted the creation of UNHCR 40 years ago. Filmed in Europe and the USA, it reviews current responses to asylum-seekers, particularly in preparation for Western Europe's single frontier in 1992. It will also pull together some of the questions posed in earlier

films, making it clear that no solution for the dispossessed is possible without a genuine reordering of the North's relations with the less privileged world.

Answers to the global refugee crisis can only be found if refugees are given a higher profile on the public agendas of the countries that are in a position to act. And this will only happen if ordinary people make their concerns heard. We hope that these films will inspire you to add your voice to our plea for action.

HERE'S WHAT

SUPPORT THE REFUGEE CHARTER

THE FOLLOWING CHARTER
OUTLINING THE MAIN
CONCERNS OF AID AGENCIES
AND REFUGEE GROUPS WILL
BE PRESENTED TO DOWNING
STREET IN THE AUTUMN.

REFUGEE CHARTER

- 1 -

RICH NATIONS SHOULD
CONTRIBUTE SUBSTANTIALLY
INCREASED AMOUNTS TO
PROGRAMMES PROTECTING AND
HELPING REFUGEES. MONEY
GIVEN TO THE UNITED NATIONS
HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR
REFUGEES, UNHCR, SHOULD
NOT BE EARMARKED FOR
POLITICALLY FAVOURED
GROUPS OF REFUGEES.

- 2 -

GOVERNMENTS, AND WESTERN
GOVERNMENTS IN PARTICULAR,
SHOULD ADOPT LESS
RESTRICTIVE ATTITUDES
TOWARDS ASYLUM-SEEKERS.
POLICY-MAKERS SHOULD NOT
SEE REFUGEES AS A THREAT.
MOVES TOWARDS COMMON
POLICIES ON BORDER
CONTROLS SHOULD NOT LEAD
TO THE UNFAIR EXCLUSION OF
ASYLUM-SEEKERS.

- 3 -

EVERY ASYLUM-SEEKER MUST
HAVE A FAIR CHANCE TO PUT
HIS OR HER CASE. ASYLUM-
SEEKERS MUST HAVE THE RIGHT
TO APPEAL AGAINST A
NEGATIVE DECISION AND MUST
NOT BE DEPORTED BEFORE
BEING ABLE TO EXERCISE THIS
RIGHT.

- 4 -

REFUGEES MUST BE FULLY
INVOLVED IN THE PLANNING AND
IMPLEMENTATION OF SCHEMES
DESIGNED TO PROVIDE HELP
AND SUPPORT. IT IS ESSENTIAL
THAT WOMEN AND OLDER
REFUGEES ARE ABLE TO TAKE
PART IN THE PROCESS.

YOU CAN DO



- 5 -

PEOPLE WHO HAVE FLED THEIR HOMES, BUT WHO HAVE NOT CROSSED AN INTERNATIONAL BORDER, ARE ENTITLED TO PROTECTION. THERE SHOULD BE AN INTERNATIONAL MECHANISM TO ENSURE THIS.

- 6 -

PROGRAMMES FOR REFUGEES SHOULD MAKE SURE THAT THE NEEDS OF VULNERABLE GROUPS, LIKE THE ELDERLY, CHILDREN AND DISABLED, ARE MET.

- 7 -

TRANSITIONAL SUPPORT SHOULD BE AVAILABLE FOR REFUGEES WHO CHOOSE TO RETURN TO THEIR HOMELAND. FUNDS SHOULD BE FOUND TO MEET HOUSING, SUBSISTENCE AND TRAINING NEEDS.

- 8 -

REFUGEES AND ASYLUM-SEEKERS SHOULD HAVE THE RIGHT TO BE JOINED BY THEIR IMMEDIATE FAMILY.

- 9 -

REFUGEES BRING A WEALTH OF DIFFERENT SKILLS, OVERSEAS QUALIFICATIONS AND WORK EXPERIENCE GAINED ABROAD, WHICH SHOULD BE RECOGNISED AND VALUED.

- 10 -

GOVERNMENTS MUST ACT TO END THE WARS, HUMAN RIGHTS ABUSES AND ENVIRONMENTAL DEGRADATION WHICH FORCE PEOPLE TO FLEE THEIR HOMES. FOREIGN POLICY SHOULD BE GEARED TOWARDS PROMOTING HUMAN RIGHTS.

DO IT NOW!

YOU CAN SUPPORT THE CHARTER IN ONE OF TWO WAYS:

If you are a member of an organisation, you can ask your organisation to add its name to the list of signatures on the charter. These will include most of the agencies listed overleaf and individual refugee groups as well.

As an individual, you can add your support by filling in the postcard that is attached to this page. The postcards will be collected over the next few weeks and delivered with the charter, so...

DO IT NOW

■ WRITE TO AN ORGANISATION OF YOUR CHOICE

The other postcard is for you to send off to any of the addresses listed overleaf. They will supply you with more information and tell you how you can become involved.

■ ATTEND ONE OF THE REFUGEE EVENTS

A series of events linked to the fortieth anniversary of UNHCR have been taking place throughout the year. Some of these are happening after September. Why not get involved? There will be a UN Elders Day, Kurdistan Week, One World Week, UN Day and Human Rights Day. Write to IBT for a leaflet giving more details.

■ USE OUR SCHOOLS MATERIALS IN THE CLASSROOM

If you are a teacher, you may wonder how you can introduce the issues into the classroom and still cover Attainment Targets for the National Curriculum. A special 8-page A4 booklet has been written for the series, aimed at teachers of English and media studies, history (especially 'Britain in the 20th century' and 'Africa South of the Sahara since 1945'), Social Studies and Sociology GCSE, Geography (in particular the study of migration), RE, Modern Studies and cross-curricular themes, such as citizenship (including human rights). Later in the year, there will also be a special schools video including extracts from the films that are most suitable for classroom study. The video will also include a study guide with an active learning approach. For more information, contact IBT.

The INTERNATIONAL BROADCASTING TRUST (IBT)

.....is an independent television production company which specialises in programmes on Third World, Human Rights and Environmental issues. It is also an educational trust, set up by a number of organisations concerned about public education in these areas. IBT's back-up publications, schools videos and classroom materials all contribute to broadening the educational use of our programmes. We rely on the generosity of individuals and organisations for the educational aspects of our work. Contact the Education Officer at 2 Ferdinand Place, London NW1 8EE. Tel: 071-482 2847.

The films and accompanying educational materials have been produced with the help of the following:

Baring Foundation
British Red Cross
CAFOD
Christian Aid
Commission of the European Communities
Finnish International Development Agency
Finnish National Board of General Education
Finnish Refugee Council
Finnish Red Cross
Help the Aged
League of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies
Norwegian Agency for Development Co-operation
OXFAM
Save the Children Fund



THE DISPOSSESSED

MAKING CONTACT

Amnesty International

(British Section)

99 - 119 Rosebery Avenue,
London, EC1. Tel: 071 278 6000

Amnesty is a human rights organisation which deals with refugee cases where individuals are in danger of persecution if returned to their country of origin. ♦ ✕ ● ■

British Red Cross

9 Grosvenor Crescent, London,
SW1X 7EJ. Tel: 071 235 5454

As part of the International Red Cross and Red Crescent Movements, the British Red Cross has considerable experience working with refugees abroad and providing a specialised tracing and family message service in the UK. ♦ ★ ☆ ● ♥ ■

CAFOD

2 Romero Close, London SW9 9TY
Tel: 071 733 7900

CAFOD (Catholic Fund for Overseas Development) supports over 500 long-term development programmes in 75 countries, as well as providing emergency relief. ♦ ★ ✕ ☆ ●

Christian Aid

PO Box 100, London, SE1 7RT
Tel: 071 620 4444

Christian Aid is working to overcome poverty in more than 70 countries worldwide. This includes support for long-term work with refugees and the dispossessed overseas, and educational work on the causes of poverty at home. ♦ ★ ✕ ☆ ●

KEY

- ♦ Free information material on refugees available
- ★ Can provide speakers for meetings
- ✕ Local groups
- ☆ Special service for schools / teachers
- Library available for members of the public to use (notice needed)
- ♥ Can provide work for volunteers wanting to work with refugees
- Publications on refugees for sale

Christians Aware

10 Springfield Road, Leicester,
LE2 3BD

Christians Aware is an international and ecumenical educational movement. It organises conferences, overseas visits and exchanges.

♦ ★ ✕

Help the Aged

St James Walk, London, EC1R 0BE
Tel: 071 253 0253

Help the Aged is a fundraising and grant-making charity focusing on the needs of elderly people in the UK and overseas. This year the organisation is producing special information material on refugees. ♦ ★ ■

Minority Rights Group

379 Brixton Road, London,
SW9 7DE. Tel: 071 978 9498

Minority Rights Group is a non-governmental organisation specialising in research and education work. It publishes material on minorities. ☆ ■

Ockenden Venture

Guildford Road, Woking, Surrey,
GU22 7UU

Ockenden provides homes, healthcare and education to refugees and displaced people in the UK and overseas. ♦ ★ ✕ ♥

OXFAM

Oxfam Information, 274 Banbury
Road, Oxford, OX2 7DZ
Tel: 0865 312385

Oxfam is an overseas development agency working with poor people regardless of race, sex, religion and politics in their struggle against hunger, disease, exploitation and poverty. Oxfam provides relief and development work overseas, and public education at home.

♦ ✕ ☆ ■

Refugee Council

3 Bondway, London, SW8 1SJ
Tel: 071 582 6922

The Refugee Council works directly with refugees in Britain, promotes the rights of refugees and asylum seekers at home and abroad. ♦ ★ ☆ ● ■



HOWARD J. DAVIES/WOMBAT PHOTOGRAPHY

Refugee Study Programme

Queen Elizabeth House,
21 St Giles, Oxford, OX1 3LA
Tel: 0865 270722

The RSP conducts research, and carries out teaching and other information work on refugees and forced migration. ♦ ★ ☆ ● ■

United Nations High Commission for Refugees

7 Westminster Palace Gardens,
Artillery Row, London SW1P 1RR
Tel: 071 222 3065

This is the London office of UNHCR, which is based in Geneva. ♦

Voluntary Service Overseas

217 Putney Bridge Road, London,
SW15 2PN. Tel: 081 780 2266

VSO sends people with skills to work with communities in developing countries for 2 years. ✕ ☆ ♥

World University Service UK

20 Compton Terrace, London N1
2UN. Tel: 071 226 6747

WUS provides educational assistance to refugees and other disadvantaged people, overseas and in the UK.

♦ ★ ✕ ☆ ■

United Nations Association

3 Whitehall Court, London,
SW1A 2EL. Tel: 071 930 2431

The United Nations Association is a non-governmental organisation committed to furthering understanding and use of the UN system by governments and people. It is independent of the UN and the Government. ★ ✕ ● ■

There are more than a hundred different refugee community groups in London and elsewhere. Many are willing to provide speakers. Some have their own literature.

If you want to contact any refugee groups, please get in touch with the Press Office at the Refugee Council.

THE AMAZON

Divers' gold

The worst job in the world

FORCING its way through the Amazonian forest, the Madeira river follows the frontier between Brazil and Bolivia. It is turbulent and dirty, but Juscelino Amaral is not afraid of it. The river bed conceals one of the biggest gold reserves in the world and Juscelino is a *garimpeiro* or gold digger. He is one of over 30,000 working along a 400-kilometre stretch of the river, in what may well be one of the most difficult jobs in the world – underwater gold extraction. In the past two years over 2,000 *garimpeiros* have lost their lives. For weeks or months they navigate in precarious raft-like boats until they reach a place where they hope to find gold. To wrest a few grams of gold from the river, a diver plunges to a depth of between

five and 33 metres, according to the time of year. With no visibility whatsoever, exposed to the dangers of underwater currents and attack by piranhas, depending on a fragile tube linking him to the boat, he remains in the dark silence for up to eight hours. He works with a suction pipe that draws up the mud – and, if he is lucky, some gold as well – from the riverbed and deposits it in the boat. Patches on his diving suit cover the points where piranha have bitten through it. Most *garimpeiros*



M. SCHAPIRA/ILO

are ignorant of proper diving techniques. They suffer from disorders ranging from decompression sickness, burst eardrums and sinus problems to ruptured lungs.

'My life now belongs to the Madeira,' says Juscelino Amaral with stoic equanimity.

Source: International Labour Office

Pinochet's rule

Few doubted that General Pinochet's 17-year rule in Chile was ruthless. However the civilian government that succeeded him has just published a shocking report on just how murderous was Pinochet's regime. More than 2,000 political opponents were killed, the result of a 'systematic policy of extermination' including torture by electric shock, burning, asphyxiation and rape.

Whether anyone will be brought to justice is unclear. While still in power, the military decreed an amnesty to shield its



people from prosecution for political crimes committed between 1973 and 1978. Pinochet, who remains head of the army, has warned against putting any of his men on trial. However there is a proposal to give financial compensation to the families of victims, including a state pension.

SOURCE: TIME MAGAZINE, VOL. 137, NO. 11, 1991.

Dumping trash on the poor

Western wealth leads to garbage. Where to dump it is the problem. A recent Greenpeace report describes the schemes of companies and nations in shipping their waste overseas. Corporations are offering what seem like substantial sums of money to convince Third World governments, desperate for hard currency to pay their overseas debts, to accept hazardous imports.

Paraguay has been offered \$15 million by the Scoot Corporation of New York City, to accept between 100,000 and 200,000 tons of municipal waste from Manhattan each month for ten years. The report claims 'Scoot has assured Paraguayan officials that US garbage is harmless, but typically a ton of US household garbage includes about 20 pounds of hazardous wastes.' When Paraguayan residents of the region where the reprocessing plant was to be located protested, the project was put on hold. Whether it will be given the green light, is another matter.

SOURCE: GREENPEACE REPORT: 'THE INTERNATIONAL TRADE IN WASTES: A GREENPEACE INVENTORY', REPORTED IN MULTINATIONAL MONITOR, VOL 12, NO 5 1991.



ZANZIBAR

'Sea rubbish'

...and Spice

SEAWEED, once despised as sea rubbish, is proving a valuable new cash crop for village women on Zanzibar's east coast. Cropping was introduced to the Tanzanian island two years ago and some 10,000 people, mostly women, make a living from it. Rope, sticks and seedlings are the only outlays needed to start farming.

According to Juma Shamuhuna, principal secretary in the Ministry of Agriculture, Livestock and Natural Resources, some women are making up to \$100 a month. 'That's twice the salary of a newly-employed graduate in the civil service. I believe that in a few years Zanzibar seaweed farmers will be the wealthiest women in the whole African coastal belt,' says Shamuhuna.

About 500 tons of dried seaweed have been produced in the past year, worth \$150,000 to the growers. Industrialized countries use seaweed in pharmaceuticals, textiles, rubber, adhesives and various foods. Shamuhuna hopes that seaweed will become an alternative foreign exchange earner to cloves, which accounts for 90 per cent of Zanzibar's export earnings.

Says 21-year-old Mwatum Ali of Kiwengwa village, who previously owned nothing but cooking utensils: 'Since I began seaweed farming six months ago I have managed to purchase a radio, seven pairs of shoes and 15 dresses.'

Source: Lucas Lukumbo/Panos



MARION KAPLAN/CAMERA PRESS

Fierce competition has cut Zanzibar's clove exports by two-thirds since the 1960s.

ETHICAL CONSUMPTION

Buying power

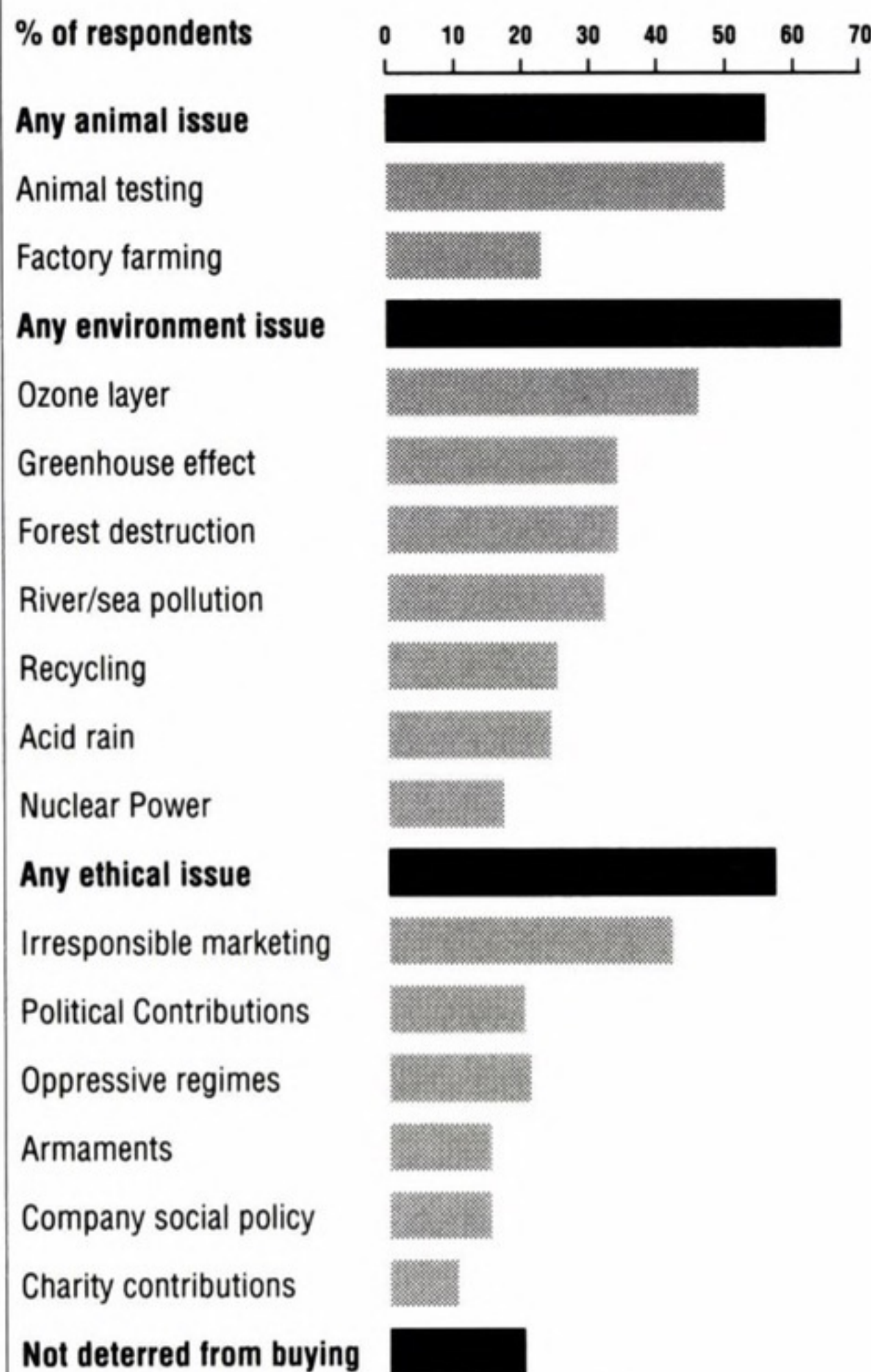
Morals in the market place

EARLIER this year saw the publication of the most comprehensive research report to date on the extent of ethical consumerism in the UK. A sample of 1,336 people were asked about any moral issue that would affect their purchasing decision. The table illustrated, shows their responses. The results indicate that increasingly people are realizing that their purchasing decisions can change the shape of the marketplace.

Interesting highlights of the report included the huge majority (80 per cent) who claim to 'always or nearly always' choose environmentally friendly products or services. There was also significant support on issues like avoiding products which have been tested on animals (50 per cent) and irresponsible marketing (42 per cent) – defining 'irresponsible' as pharmaceutical and babyfood companies who sold inappropriate products to the Third World.

Source: **The Green Consumer 1991, Mintel Special Report.**

What would make people stop buying certain goods



Careless carnage

An unpublicized epidemic is sweeping the US. Each year according to the Industrial Department, about 10,000 workers are killed in industrial accidents and 70,000 suffer permanent injuries. The National Safe Workplace Institute estimates 50-70,000 more employees die from workplace-induced disease.

Most of this carnage is avoidable. But corporate indifference (some say 'white collar crime') together with weak government enforcement of workplace safety laws allows thousands to die each year.

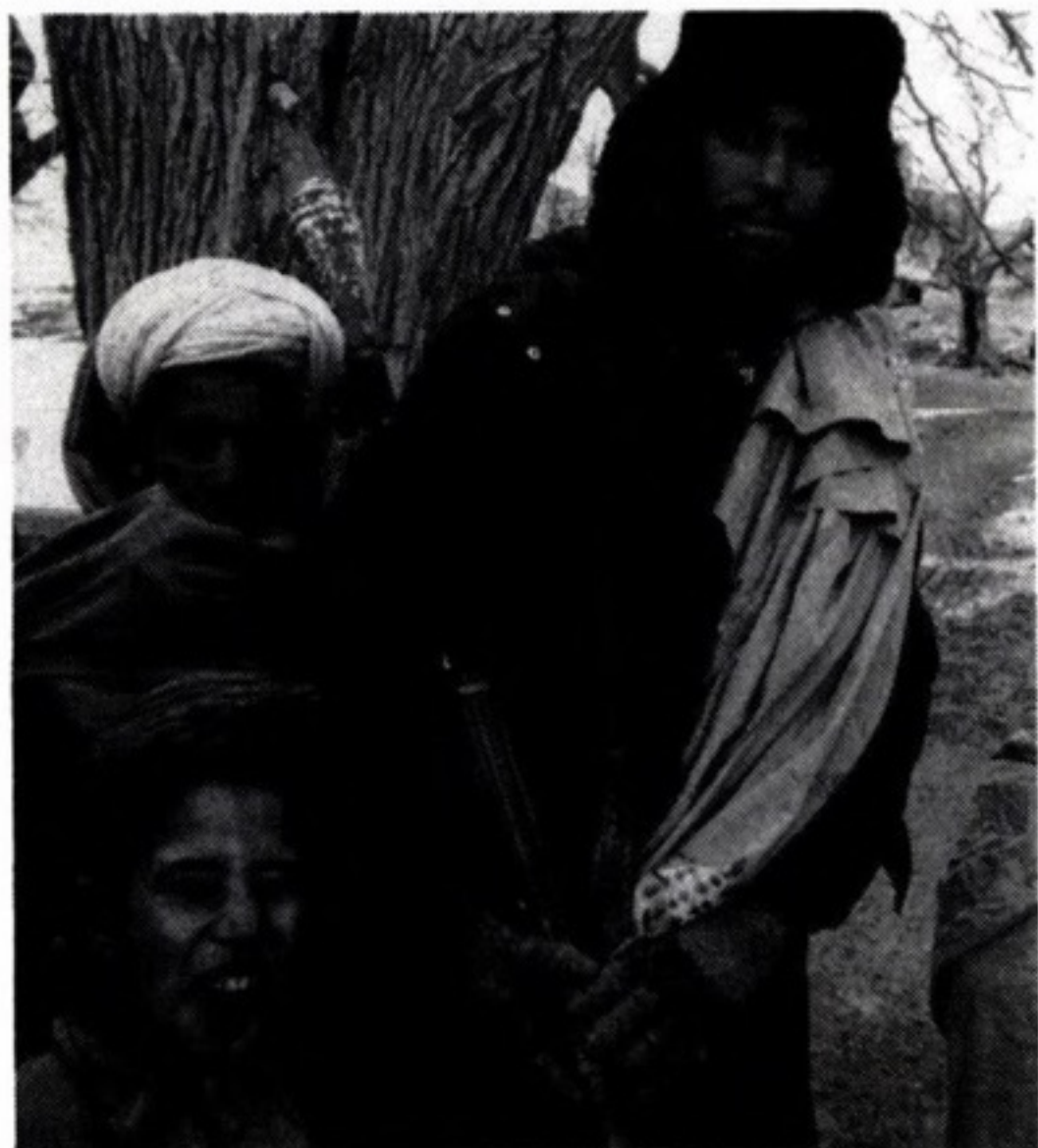


Even this weakened agency has found the ten largest US corporations guilty of 3,800 violations of workplace safety regulations since 1982. Yet they have been only fined for around a third of these violations – the average fine: \$437 per violation.

SOURCE: **MULTINATIONAL MONITOR, VOL. 12, NO. 4 1991**

Gulf war fallout in Pakistan

A huge explosion at an arms dump in the northern Pakistan town of Nowshera on 31 May that killed at least eight people and wounded more than 50, was caused by mishandling of phosphorous shells captured from Iraq and given by the US to Afghan mujahideen guerillas. The US has also resumed financial aid to the mujahideen recently, giving some \$125 million after trying to make sure it will not all go to fundamentalist Islamic groups.



SOURCE: **FAR EASTERN ECONOMIC REVIEW, VOL 152 NO 25, 1991**

GREGORY GUEST

CHINA

Starcrossed

Lovelorn turn to TV

IN a country where the search for a spouse is usually the task of official matchmakers or relatives, appearing on television to solicit a partner is nothing less than revolutionary. But ever since it opened in September, Beijing Television's (BTV) dating game programme, 'Let's Meet Tonight', has been a runaway hit with the capital's 10 million viewers.

The station is swamped with applications, despite the stiff 60 yuan (\$12) entry fee. Each programme features a selection of five subjects shown working, playing, reading or cooking in two-minute video-taped sequences. They describe their characteristics, hobbies, family and marital history to prospective partners in the vast televising audience. The programme has featured executives, retired officials, journalists, factory workers, teachers and even a graduate student studying in the US.

'Our programme differs from TV dating games in Japan and the US which are mainly meant to entertain. When the Chinese appear on television looking for a spouse, they are serious,' said anchorwoman Yang Guang. Chief editor Yu Zhifang emphasised that the programme aims to 'establish among our audience healthy thinking about marriage'.

One episode presented a 65-year-old widower looking for a wife, to encourage the idea that older people also have the right to love and be loved – a notion rejected by most Chinese. In another programme which featured a retired worker with a 12-room house, Yang reminded the audience not to put material things above all other qualities. And she admonished a young woman who said she wanted to appear on TV to find a foreigner so she could live a wealthy life and emigrate abroad.

Source: **Zhao Hong/Inter Press Service**



ENVIRONMENT

Brazil of the North

Massive plans for deforestation in Canada

CANADA may be gaining a new reputation – as 'The Brazil of the North'. In a headlong rush for new energy sources, provincial energy authorities have been willing to overlook the environmental damage and stress on indigenous people that megaprojects invariably bring.

Canadians use more energy per capita than any other industrialized nation. One of the upcoming phases of the James Bay project in Quebec is expected to produce 3,000 megawatts of electricity – yet studies indicate that 6,000 megawatts could be saved by putting basic conservation measures into effect in Montreal. Hydro Quebec has encouraged new aluminium smelters to open by offering discounts so large that the utility may actually lose money.

Ten years of diminished rain and snowfall have reduced expected generating capacity at existing projects. Many experts believe that this is no mere drought, but a permanent climatic change. If this is true then new hydro-electric mega-projects will not be profitable, even in the short term.



BOB BAUTEL/SURVIVAL INTERNATIONAL

Megaprojects: no good for people, fish, bears or caribou.

Quebec's James Bay development plans represent one of the largest engineering projects ever undertaken. The four major phases of the project will result in hundreds of dams, dikes and generating stations, reshaping an area the size of France. The financial cost is estimated to be in excess of \$50 billion.

The ecological cost cannot be fully known. But some of the effects are clear. As a result of flooding, mercury will be released from the bedrock, poisoning fish and birds and indigenous people who eat fish. The world's largest beluga whale habitat and birthing ground will be threatened by mercury poisoning, changes in water

temperature and loss of food. The world's largest caribou herd and most southerly polar bear population would also be threatened. Widespread clear cutting and flooding of forests would destroy millions of trees.

The autocracy of politicians, industrialists and 'developers' plan to change radically an entire bioregion without a full environmental assessment. They can only be stopped if an informed and empowered electorate is willing to act. In the words of Margaret Mead: 'Never doubt that a small group of thoughtful, committed citizens can change the world. Indeed, it's the only thing that ever has.'

Source: Jim Hollingworth

A tip for a long life

Food manufacturers should cut down the amount of salt in their products, or clearly mark the salt content, giving people a chance to avoid it. This recommendation comes from researchers who have shown that in Western countries a 3-gram reduction in salt intake could reduce the incidence of strokes by 22 per cent and of heart disease by 16 per cent.

To reduce salt intake, consumers should avoid salty food or not add salt at the table. If salt was left out of processed food then deaths from strokes could be reduced by some 39 per cent and from heart attacks by 30 per cent. This would prevent 65,000 deaths in the UK alone.

SOURCE: BRITISH MEDICAL JOURNAL, VOL. 302, P 811 1991.



Cardin and Chernobyl

French fashion designer Pierre Cardin was named among a number of honorary ambassadors to UNESCO's Chernobyl Program. The program was created by UNESCO in the aftermath of the April 26 1986 nuclear explosion to deal with the environmental problems linked to the radiation, and to provide public information internationally about what was happening.

Recalling that the nuclear accident affected four million people and involved 600,000 rescue workers, many of whom were exposed to nuclear radiation too, UNESCO's Director General – Federico Mayor – appealed for international support.

A series of medallions, jewelry, clips and badges will be designed by Pierre Cardin, under the title 'Never Again'. We can but hope.

SOURCE: UNESCO PRESS RELEASE, 1991.

END

END Quote

"Only by understanding sociologically the Salvadorean people can we arrive at a better understanding of our underlying philosophy. We begin our analysis from the premise that El Salvador is divided into three classes or groups:

a) A superior class, composed of creative, large capitalists and large landholders.

b) A small middle class, amorphous, that has little ambition, that tries to imitate the superior class and co-operates with it.

c) A large, disorganised and destructive class that is comprised mainly of workers, and of intellectuals who are dangerous and who contaminate the above mentioned classes ...

But we will have to exterminate the intellectuals and the inferior masses so as to regain absolute power. The advantage: although the lower classes have many more people they are very disorganized. Remember that in the last 11 years we have eliminated some 60,000 inferior subjects. Our adversaries, the subversives and the masses, must be exterminated; at a minimum, their leaders and outstanding members. We must persecute these people. We must destroy their desire to fight back, so that those who survive submit themselves to our will."

Excerpts from a document delivered to an El Salvadorean radio station for broadcasting, by the General Maximiliano Hernandez Martinez Death Squad, December 1990.



Cross-cultural sexual arousal makes trouble for Angie and Flipper.



films

Jungle Fever

directed by Spike Lee

Right from the start, with *She's Gotta Have It*, Spike Lee has set out to make films that follow no rules but their own. With *Do the Right Thing* he succeeded triumphantly in making the 'Spike Lee Joint' pretty much its own genre. But *Jungle Fever* follows this absolute sense of self-sufficiency to risky effect.

Do the Right Thing confronted the audience with viewpoints so multiple, so complex, that it was finally unassimilable – unless you boiled it all down to the question of which side of the fence you were on. The suggestion was that plurality and the liberal idea of co-existing value systems had simply ceased to be workable options in the US.

Jungle Fever subjects the notion of multicultural consensus to even more withering scrutiny. This is a Romeo and Juliet tale of star- and race-crossed lovers – buppie family man Flipper (Wesley Snipes) and his Italian-American secretary Angie (Annabella Sciorra). The two defy social disapproval to move in together, Angie particularly incurring the possessive wrath of her brother and father.

The affair is doomed from the start but the dice are also loaded – Angie is seeking freedom away from her family but Flipper is leaving his wife and children into the bargain. Lee's sympathy appears to be on Flipper's side – surprising no-one who saw *Mo' Better Blues*, which more than tacitly approved its hero's self-absorbed prevarication between two women. What is strange, though, is that the romance never

looks like genuine love – we see the lovers more with their friends and families than with each other. The argument is that both are seduced by the glamour of racial otherness, that mere curiosity has stirred their 'jungle fever'. As in *Right Thing*, Lee goes from the liberal question (why can't they live together?) to a violent polarization, finally accepted as *The Way Things Are*.

Maybe it's true, in New York's Bensonhurst area, that white kids with black lovers risk being beaten to a pulp by their nearest and dearest – but Lee argues the point through Italian stereotypes as extreme as the Jewish ones of *Mo' Better Blues*. And for all the brutal energy of the depiction there's little sense of outrage. The diagnosis all but endorses the status quo, pointing towards an even more separatist America.

It's only in the subplot about Flipper's crack-crazed brother that the film hints at something really extraordinary. Maybe Lee should have gone for broke with the drug-hell drama he's testing out here. As it is, *Jungle Fever* never quite gets to grips with the racial or the sexual issues it tackles and its cynicism leaves a worrying after-taste.

Politics ☆☆
Entertainment ☆☆☆



music

Amen

by Salif Keita (Mango)

It was Salif Keita's *Soro* LP that first opened many Western ears to the scope of African hi-tech music. With the Malian singer's keening Islamic intonations set against the complex backings of the Paris fusion school, *Soro* set

its own agenda with few concessions to commercial imperatives. But for the most part 1989's follow-up, *Ko-Yan*, retreated too far into technological aridity and bombast.

It was hard to predict where Keita would go from there. Rumours abounded. And news that Weather Report's keyboard maestro Joe Zawinul was to produce the next LP seemed to confirm fears of cerebral fusion overkill.

In fact *Amen* is anything but that. Ornate as it is, it's far more contained than *Ko-Yan* and certainly bears little relation to Weather Report's baroque spaciness. If anything, it tends towards flatness. There's a sense of too little going on in these songs; and although many sustain a strong sense of drama, surprisingly little of it comes from Keita himself. The 'Golden Voice of Africa' seems curiously muted here and often it's the backing singers who steal the laurels.

Amen is by no means disposable, though – and the inner sleeve makes you wonder how much you're missing if you're not fluent in Manding. *Yele n Na* is a tender, avuncular profession of love for a younger woman: 'Was it not I who carved your little



Keita – Africa's 'Golden Voice'.

sticks/ Mended your old clothes/ And even your knickers'. *Kuma*, meanwhile, is a quite painful *cri de coeur* which draws on Keita's double outsider status (as a noble venturing against the grain into the profession of music, and as an albino). *Waraya* echoes the changing political situations in Mali and Guinea, foreseeing a new era of freedom for his country and its neighbours.

It's a shame that the music doesn't always live up to the urgency hinted at by the lyric sheet but, on the whole, *Amen* is a creditable meeting of adventurous minds.

Politics ☆☆☆☆
Entertainment ☆☆☆



books

Amazon Watershed

by George Monbiot (Michael Joseph)

For centuries many European adventurers wrote like war correspondents in hostile territory. They spun exotic tales out of fear and ignorance. In some ways film-makers are their modern heirs. The Amazon is one of their most favoured locations.

George Monbiot's *Amazon Watershed* is different. It's more vivid, lively and distressing than anything suggested by the hundreds of pretty TV documentaries that have conned us into thinking we know all about it. At its best, travel writing conspires with the reader's imagination to take us to places and people the camera cannot capture. This book is often travel writing at its very best.

You get to like Monbiot and trust his judgement – and he writes like an angel. But, unlike the angel, he sets off down paths where the rest of us would hesitate to follow. He engages with the people he meets, with their hopes and fears as well as his own. He takes the trouble to find out what they are.

This can be a dangerous thing to do. So, just as you are thinking 'Time to take cover, George!' he's off to confront a murderous local landowner, or detained on the deck of a sinking river boat to save the inebriated captain who's driven it onto the rocks.

'I felt that having made ourselves rich we have insulated ourselves from surprises,' Monbiot writes. 'Only the poor wake up to find their houses gone, their crops destroyed, their children massacred. Yet we still have the fear, the hope, the courage, the aggression designed to help us through these moments, and we still need to exercise them. We invent quests and conflicts to take the place of the fundamentals we have lost.'

Travel writing is moving on into new territory. Reading this book you understand and welcome its growing appeal.

Politics ☆☆☆☆
Entertainment ☆☆☆

The Challenge Road

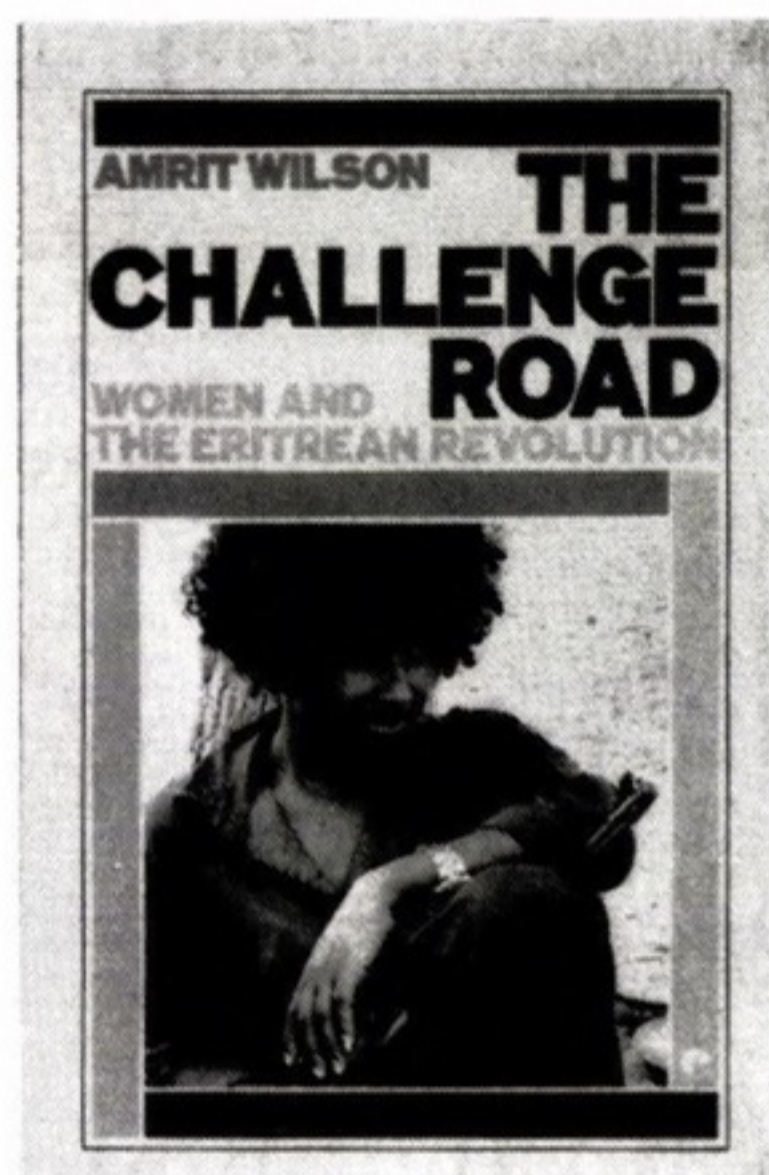
by Amrit Wilson (Earthscan)

This is a timely book. For years the Western media have given the 'Eritrean rebels' little more than a cursory glance: their conflict with the Ethiopian

Government is one of 'the causes of famine'; their actions stop aid supplies reaching the starving.

But now the rebels are the victors and there seems every chance that the Eritreans will achieve the independence for which they have fought for 30 years, since it was annexed by Ethiopia. Even the policy analysts in Washington and London will now have to consider what sort of government an independent Eritrea might have.

They would do well to study **The Challenge Road** in which the positive impression of the Eritreans relayed back by visitors to their liberated zones over the last decade is confirmed. Amrit Wilson concentrates on women's experience, though not exclusively on 'women's issues' – this is sim-



ply the story of a desperately hard liberation struggle, seen through the eyes of its women participants. This is a good test for a liberation movement which the West has always considered to be a bunch of Stalinists, since Stalinists are not exactly known for their enlightened sexual politics.

And the Eritrean People's Liberation Front (EPLF) come out of it very well, in a way that fills you with hope for the new country they will be building.

The Challenge Road exists: it is a highway built by the EPLF in 1982. Its 37 hairpin bends through steep mountains opened up the north-east Sahel front. Wilson takes this remarkable symbol of Eritrean endurance for the title of a book that is enlightening as well as inspiring.

Politics ★★★★★

Entertainment ★★☆☆

STAR RATING

Excellent ★★★★★
Very good ★★★★★
Good ★★★★★
Fair ★★★★★
Poor ★★★★★

Reviews editor: Chris Brazier

THE classic

Spartacus

... being the first film to put credible politics into the Hollywood epic

THE enemies of the State are known. Arrests are in progress. The prisons begin to fill. In every city and province, lists of the disloyal have been compiled.'

We're moving towards the end of **Spartacus**, the 1960 epic about the mass slave revolt against Rome in 72 BC. The rebellion has been put down and the instrument of that repression and patrician villain of the piece Crassus, played by Laurence Olivier, is speaking. It's one of the most chilling moments in the film and it's also one of the most revealing, because **Spartacus** was scripted by Dalton Trumbo – one of the famed 'Hollywood Ten' who were blacklisted and hounded out for their left-wing sympathies in the early 1950s.

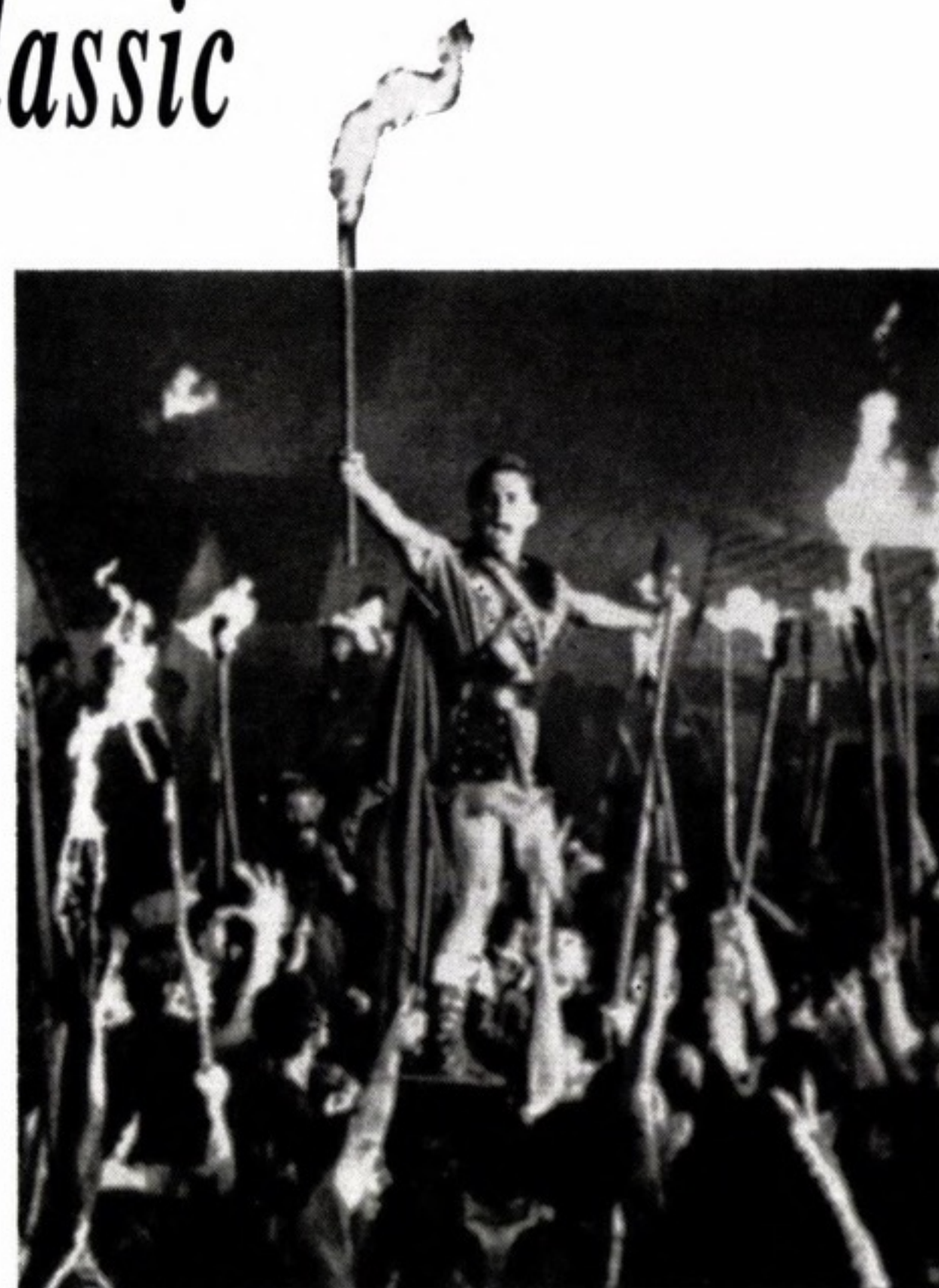
Directed by a 31-year-old Stanley Kubrick – who later went on to the likes of *Doctor Strangelove* and *A Clockwork Orange* – and starring Kirk Douglas as the eponymous hero, **Spartacus** is probably still the only Hollywood epic film which can be both enjoyed as entertainment and taken seriously for its themes and subject-matter. One of the main reasons for this is that it avoids the usual weight of Christian self-righteousness which bogs down almost every other Ancient World epic.

Ben Hur (1959) has that famous chariot race and *The Ten Commandments* (1956) its miraculous parting of the Red Sea but both of these, along with the many other epics of the 1950s, spend much of their time celebrating a beneficent God who's prepared to come to the aid of His Chosen People. In his pompous on-screen introduction to *The Ten Commandments*, the famously right-wing Cecil B De Mille speaks of his film as telling of 'the story of the birth of freedom... Are men the property of the State or are they free souls under God. This same battle continues throughout the world to this day!'

The Cold War rhetoric is unmistakable and it's no coincidence that the era of Manichean struggle between East and West was also the Golden Age of the Hollywood Biblical epic: God is on Our Side. Shorn of that simplistic religious optimism, **Spartacus** is able to tell a different kind of story: in this world people have to help themselves and life is seen explicitly as a struggle between the few in power and the many beneath them.

The film begins with Spartacus working as a slave in a Libyan quarry. Bought by the owner of a gladiator school (Peter Ustinov), he and his fellow slaves undergo rigorous military-style training with only one aim in mind: 'to be sold to ladies and gentlemen of quality, those who appreciate a fine kill'.

'I'm not an animal!' declares Spartacus, who, when forced to fight in the arena for the visiting Crassus, sparks a slave rebellion that takes in much of Italy. The revolt is eventually put down



and Spartacus crucified, but the ideals he articulated and fought for are seen to live on – in the struggle if not the fulfilment.

Spartacus is a great spectacle, with over 8,000 extras and huge battle scenes aplenty, but where the film comes into its own is in the incisive contrast between the slave leader and his key opponent. Spartacus is struggling towards an understanding of the cruel world in which he lives, towards personal freedom, justice and a dignified life. 'I'd rather be here,' he says, 'a free man among brothers, facing a long march and a hard fight, than to be the richest citizen of Rome, fat with food he didn't work for and surrounded by slaves'.

Olivier's Crassus, on the other hand, coldly defends the existing order and all its injustices. Crassus speaks of the 'might, the majesty, the terror of Rome'. As in all dictatorships, the interests of the State are interchangeable with his own: 'There is only one way to deal with Rome. You must serve her. You must abase yourself before her. You must grovel at her feet. You must love her.'

The film is clear that human rights have to be fought for – and then defended. Here the casting of the American Douglas against the British Olivier (with all the built-in privilege and arrogance that the latter's clipped tones imply) is particularly telling. There are other resonances. Dalton Trumbo's own experiences under McCarthyism are echoed when after the final battle Crassus asks the surviving slaves to 'name names' and point out Spartacus – all step forward claiming the identity. And Kirk Douglas, who as the film's producer selected both Trumbo and Kubrick, brings his own embodiment of the American Dream (born Issur Danielovitch of Russian-Jewish parentage) as background to the lead role. **Spartacus** is both superb cinema and a persuasive political statement. ■

Tom Tunney

Spartacus, directed by Stanley Kubrick. The film is being re-released this year with over 10 minutes of footage not seen since its initial cinema run in 1960.



QUESTIONS

...THAT HAVE ALWAYS INTRIGUED YOU ABOUT THE WORLD WILL APPEAR IN THIS, YOUR SECTION, AND BE ANSWERED BY OTHER READERS. TO GET THE BALL ROLLING WE HAVE THIS MONTH ASKED - AND ANSWERED - THE QUESTIONS OURSELVES. FROM NOW ON IT'S OVER TO YOU!

Why was Ethiopia's last emperor, Haile Selassie, known as 'The Lion of Judah'?

● This refers to his status as God in the Afro-Caribbean religion of Rastafarianism, in which the mention of his name was often accompanied by the formula 'King of kings, Lord of lords, Lion of Judah'. It derives from



the legend that Menelik, the first ruler of the ancient empire of Axum in northern Ethiopia in the tenth century BC, was the son of the Biblical Solomon and the Queen of Sheba (or Sahea, in modern Yemen). Another connection which adds to this myth is that many Jews fled to Ethiopia from Christian persecution from the fifth century AD onwards - ancestors of the modern Falashas whom Israel has been so keen to rescue. In practice Haile Selassie, like the European monarchs of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, used his divine right to back up a feudal dictatorship. After he was deposed in 1974, amid a series of popular protests, the military seized power - and eventually a new emperor, Colonel Mengistu Haile Mariam, emerged. He himself is rumoured to derive from the illegitimate line of an Emperor. □

Where do chickens come from?

● The *Gallus gallus* - or Red Jungle Fowl - which comes from the forests of northern India, Thailand, Kampuchea and Sumatra was identified by Charles Darwin as the originator of the modern domestic chicken. Although other jungle fowl are thought to have contributed to the gene stock, the Red Jungle Fowl looks very much like a small and streamlined version of our own farm poultry. It has a fleshy crest, reddish brown back and tail feathers, and a distinctive, unnerving cackle and scream. The people of the Indus Valley had domesticated jungle fowl by 2000 BC. □

Are there any matriarchal societies in the world today? How do they work?

● What do you mean by matriarchal? There are many *matrilineal* societies where property is inherited through women, mainly in West Africa and Polynesia. In such societies

women may have greater prestige than in patrilineal societies - but they do not necessarily have more power. The Ashanti people of Ghana, for example, are matrilineal. But what this means in effect is that a man's heir is his sister's son - rather than his own son. In some places the monarch is always a woman as on the island of Tongo in the South Pacific. But I do not know of any societies that are matriarchal in the sense of women having primary power over property and decision-making in the way men do in patriarchal societies. □

How did developing countries come to be called 'The Third World'?

● There seems to be no agreed derivation. It is sometimes taken to mean the 'non-aligned' countries - that is the countries that were not connected to the East or the West during the Cold War era. Another explanation is that the term originated as the French *Tiers Monde* because of a suggested parallel between the poor countries of the world and the *Tiers Etat* - the Third Estate, or Commons, in the French Revolution. A drawback of the term is that it may leave the thought in people's minds that the 'Third World' is a third of the world, when in fact it accounts for three-quarters of the world's population. And there are some who argue that due to the emergence of newly industrialized countries, like Brazil and South Korea, and the demise of the Eastern bloc the term is now redundant and should be abandoned. □

Who invented the bicycle?

● The first bicycle as we know it - that is a bicycle with transmission and front wheel steering - was produced by a Scottish blacksmith called Kirkpatrick Macmillan in the village of Thornhill near Dumfries, Scotland. There is controversy over whether he invented it in 1838 or 1840. But last year the Kirkpatrick Macmillan Festival was held in Drumlamrig Castle near Dumfries. Today there are 800 million bicycles in the world - of which 300 million are in China. Worldwide, bicycles outnumber cars by three to one. □



QUESTIONS awaiting your answers:

Why have so many developing countries adopted the dollar as their unit of currency?

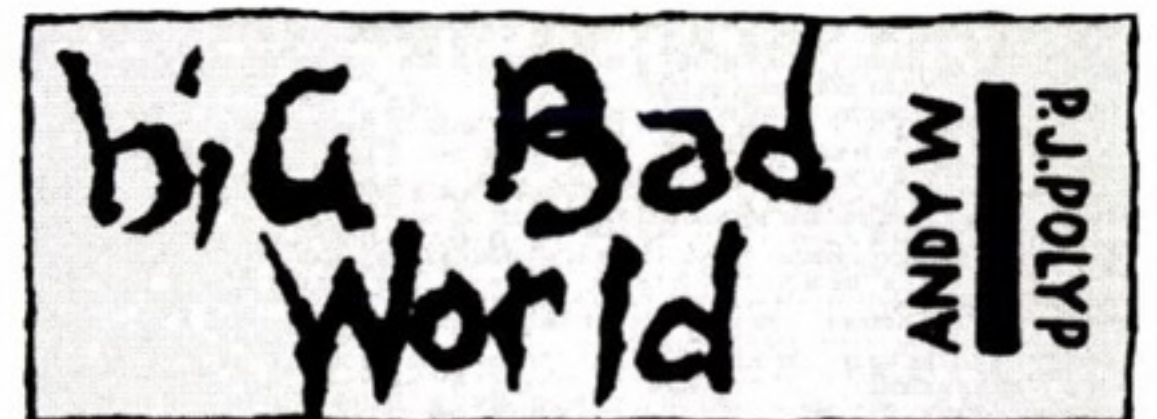
How did the 'Shining Path' get its name?

What is globalization?

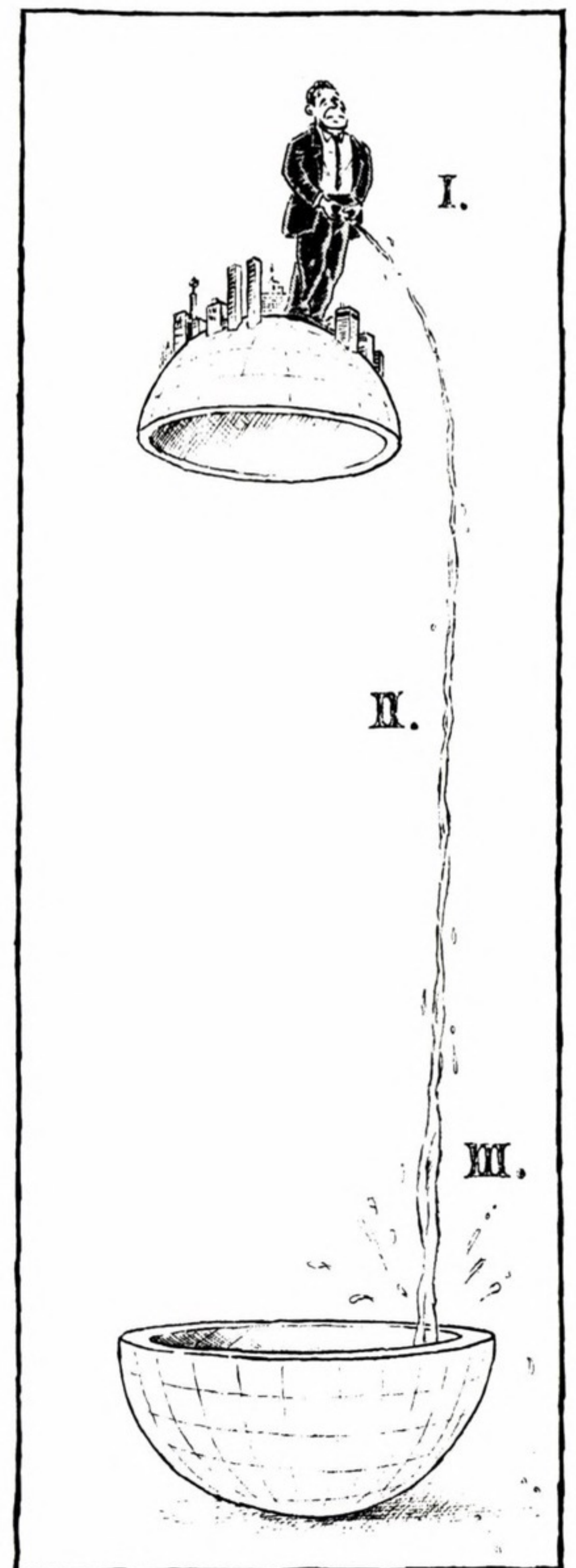
What is a 'dong bang'?

Where is the 'parrot's beak'?

Who - or what - was Bretton Woods?



TRICKLE DOWN THEORY EXPLAINED PART · ONE



Apocalypse and gardening tips

Gloomy green prophets say the end is nigh – and their critics accuse them of talking rubbish. Tim Chappell lifts his head above the slinging mud and points to a better way of protecting the planet.

FOR the sake of argument let's say that global warming is a fraud. That ozone holes are actually completely harmless to the human skin. That sulphur dioxide emissions are no threat to plant life at all. That the Amazon rainforest is in much better shape than we thought, and that the ice sheet in Antarctica is really getting thicker by the hour. In short, that the prophesied Green apocalypse will never happen. We've got nothing to worry about. We never had.

But what happens to the Green movement if Doomsday is called off? Is environmentalism suddenly out of a job? Judging by the way people argue, you might think so. Many environmentalists concentrate on arguing that we humans must become green because if we don't we'll become extinct. There is by now an established genre of newspaper article in which one group of scientists rubbishes another group of scientists for their gloomy forecasts about the way the environment is going. It's as if a lot of Greens think that their case is proved if they can show that not being green leads to catastrophe, and a lot of anti-Greens think that their case is proved if they can show it doesn't.

I think this approach is in danger of becoming a distraction. Not, of course, that monitoring what is happening to our world is not important. It's vital to understand the way the planet behaves under the manifold stresses and abuses we humans impose on it. But there are several problems with the apocalyptic approach.

For a start, scientific evidence is always incomplete and never finally convincing. And it is always possible to go on claiming that the data have been misinterpreted.

Meanwhile the call for 'more research' is often just a stalling tactic. It sounds as if it means: 'We're doing all we can'. It's more likely to mean: 'We won't change our ways until we are forced to'. And how can they be forced to change when a mere gesture will do? For example, a four-year government initiates a 10-year research programme and thus supplies the perfect excuse for doing nothing until the report comes in. By then, of course, the politicians will have forgotten all about it. So will the public. Words come cheap. Action doesn't.

I think the threat of environmental disaster is the wrong motive for environmental action. Some Greens try to justify their prophecies of global apocalypse by pointing out that fear is a good spur to action. In the words of Dr Johnson: 'The prospect of hanging concentrates the mind wonderfully'. I doubt it. The prospect of global catastrophe does not concentrate the mind: it traumatizes it. Fear does not lead to action, but to a desire to avoid facing up to reality.

The question is: is the Green movement to be motivated by the fear of mass death – or by the hope of a better world? If we are motivated only by a haunting fear, we will never do more than the bare minimum necessary to abate that fear – if that. Only if we develop a coherent positive vision of the kind of world we want to see will we be able to capture people's creative imaginations and their energies. For fear helps neither creativity nor energy. Nightmares do not lead to worthwhile action but to the lethargy of despair. To create a better world, we need imagination. We need dreams. We must replace green fears with green hopes: the negative approach with the positive.

It's a simple but radical proposal because the negative approach is to be found everywhere. For example I recently had a reply to a



ILLUSTRATION: ALAN HUGHES

letter I wrote to the UK Department of the Environment about the dumping of sewage sludge in the sea. They argued that the sea was quite capable of eliminating the amounts of toxin involved, so the dumping did not significantly harm the environment. Here 'ecological responsibility' meant 'doing no more damage to the environment than we can get away with'. And people accept this negative approach where the environment is concerned. But can you imagine them accepting the same approach to their own gardens? What kind of gardener would throw at their plants all the rubbish they think the plants can take without actually dying? The gardener's approach is the positive one – create as much beauty and life as possible. When they talk about their garden's potential they do not mean their garden's potential to absorb ill treatment, but to become beautiful and fruitful.

Technological societies work on the basis of two ideas. One, that what can be exploited, should be exploited. Two, that nature is capable of being exploited infinitely without ill effects. Greens usually attack the second idea and get diverted into fine measurement of exactly what ill effects are resulting from our exploitation of nature. But it is the first idea which is more important. The point is that the exploitative attitude is a wrong relationship to the natural world even when it produces no immediate ill effects. Our relationship should be much more like that of the gardener: not doing every kind of damage to nature we think we can get away with but doing everything we can to create beauty and integrity and continuing life in nature. And not just for our own enjoyment or our descendants' – but for the health of the planet itself. ■

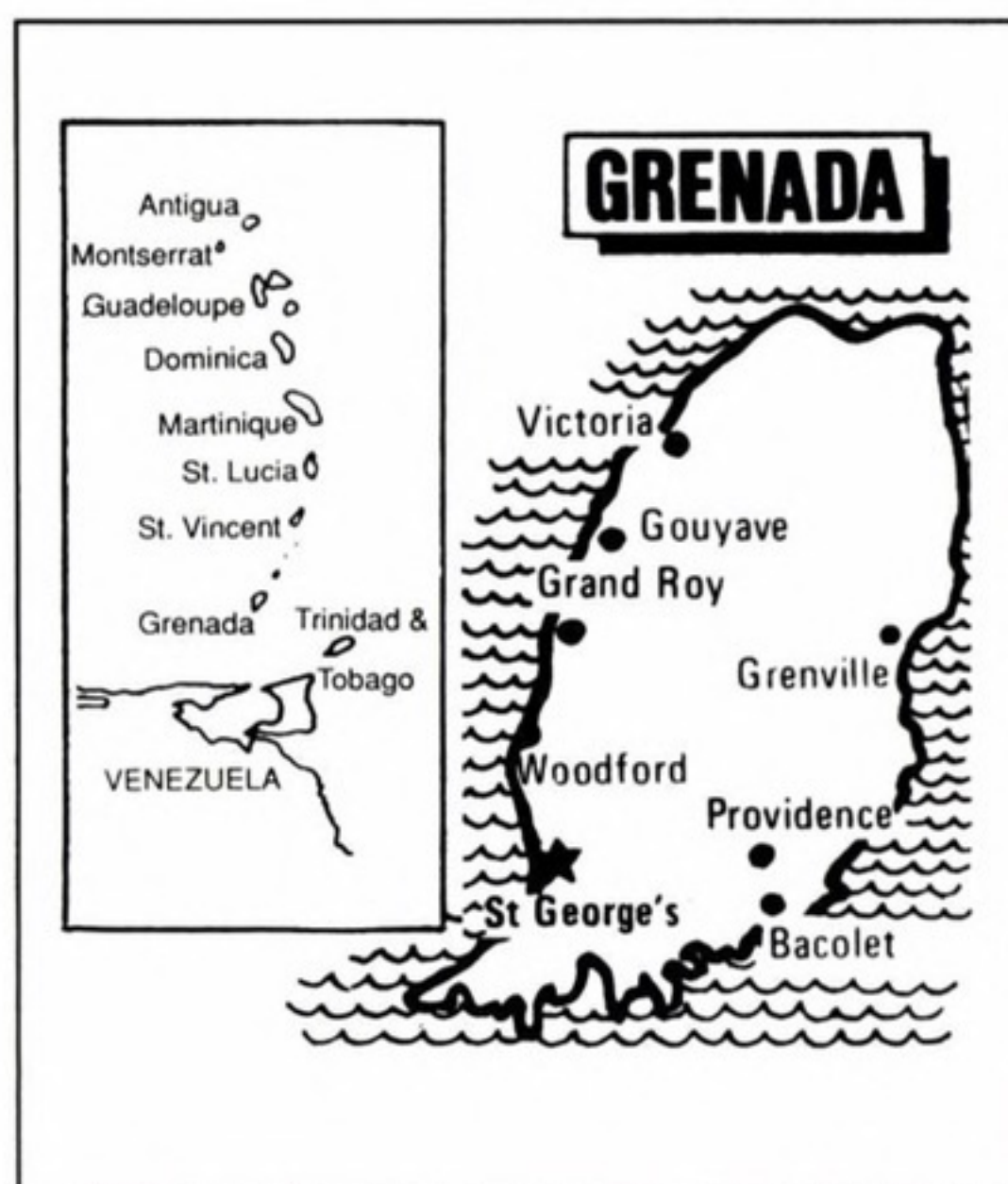
Tim Chappell is a postgraduate student of Divinity at Edinburgh University, Scotland, UK.

Grenada

It takes a long while to get over trauma. One clear day in October 1983 US paratroopers fell from the skies onto the 'Spice Island'. For most islanders, emerging from a horrendous 96-hour curfew and a nightmare of massacre, the paratroopers seemed like descending angels.

The soldiers came because the revolutionary regime of the New Jewel Movement (NJM), led by the charismatic and popular Maurice Bishop, had imploded under the pressures of bitter ideological argument. Bishop and several others had fallen before the spitting machine guns of his former comrades-in-arms, and President Reagan seized this opportunity to rid the region of a pro-Cuban regime.

The story since then is one of exorcising the memories of the revolutionary experiment. Fourteen NJM members were sentenced to death and the Appeal Verdict is expected this year. While many islanders cheered the original verdicts, wiser counsels now prevail. Better long sentences than mass executions and gestures of revenge which would inflame emotions far beyond Grenada's shores. In any event most Grenadians are now more con-



cerned with economic survival.

The US poured in over \$40 million after the 'intervention'. Nearly half of that went to completing the international airport. A good deal was wasted in conspicuous consumption. Government finances pitched into the red as Grenada dropped down Washington's agenda and

fell victim to poorly thought-out US-inspired tax reform. Unemployment is almost as high as under the pre-revolutionary regime of the corrupt mystic, Sir Eric Gairy. Traditional agriculture is deeper in the doldrums than ever before. Tourism was hailed as the answer but the income and

job creation records have not been encouraging.

Despite a history of peasant-based independence and resourcefulness, many Grenadians seemed to have lost confidence. Confusion and disorientation have also characterised the political scene.

Herbert Blaize, an old-style pro-middle class politician, won Washington's approval and his coalition New National Party went on to win in the 1984 elections – with financial assistance from the US Republicans.

But gradually the coalition fell apart as economic problems mounted and as Blaize's authoritarianism became intolerable. His death in 1989 paved the way for a new start. Although the March 1990 elections were inconclusive with too many contenders, traditional pork-barrel politics won the day and Nicholas Braithwaite's National Democratic Congress was sworn in.

Today there is little trace of Grenada's revolution, and dependency haunts the island as never before. Most unusually for the island, a political calm has descended. Perhaps the long trauma is finally over.

Tony Thorndike

PHILIP WOLMUTH

AT A glance

Excellent ★★★★★
Good ★★★★
Fair ★★★
Poor ★★
Appalling ★



POLITICS
Centre right.

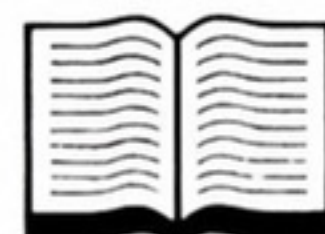


1982



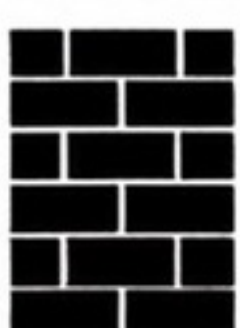
INCOME DISTRIBUTION ★★
Wide land ownership blunts impact of income inequality.

1982: ★



LITERACY ★★★
Good: 88% of children attend primary school, 35% secondary.

1982: ★★★★★



SELF-RELIANCE ★★★
Peasant production provides most basic food.

1982: ★★



FREEDOM ★★
Respect for human and civil rights improving under new government.

1982: ★★



POSITION OF WOMEN ★★★
Relatively powerful.

1982: ★★★★★



LIFE EXPECTANCY ★★★
Fair at 66 years (US 77 years).

1982: n/a

Leader Prime Minister Nicholas Braithwaite
Economy GNP per capita US\$1,720 (US \$19,840)

Currency: Eastern Caribbean dollar
Exports: Bananas and cocoa exported to Europe under Lomé Convention concessionary terms. Nutmeg and mace have a world market but prices are low after collapse of nutmeg cartel between the two major producers, Indonesia and Grenada. Agriculture is depressed, and country looks to remittances from expatriates, tourism and borrowing to help balance the books.

People 110,000

Health Infant mortality 23 per 1,000 live births (US 10 per 1,000)

Culture Most people are descendants of African slaves. Grenada's carnival in August and the Regatta in neighbouring Carriacou are high points of lively cultural life.

Religion: Mainly Roman Catholic, legacy of former French rule. Also flourishing charismatic and Seventh Day Adventist churches; some Anglican communities.

Language: English and patois.

Sources: The State of the World's Children 1991 and information supplied by author.

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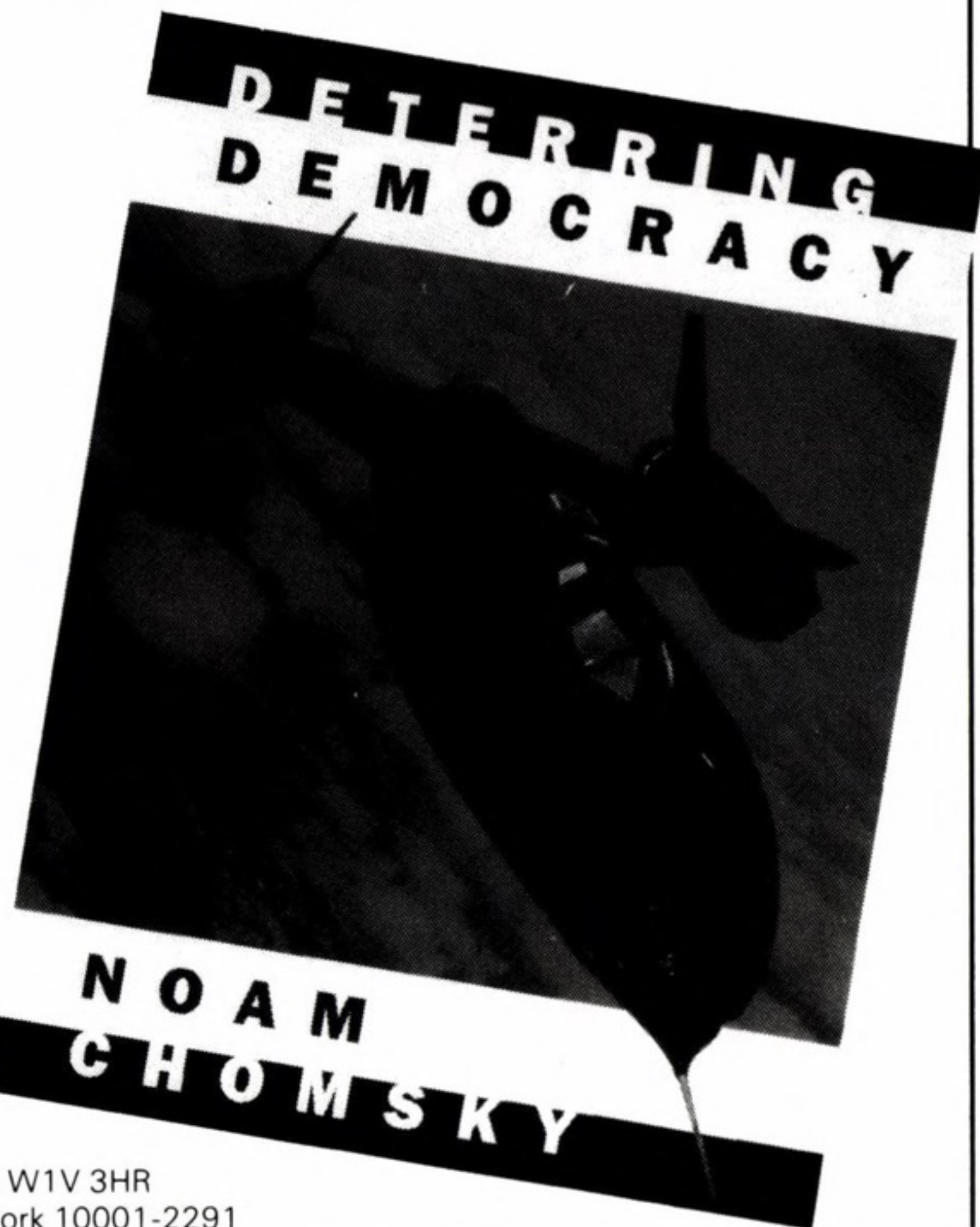
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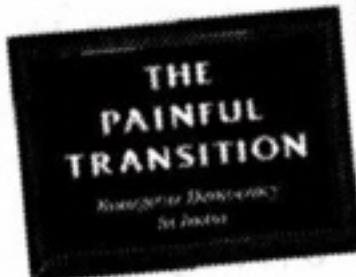
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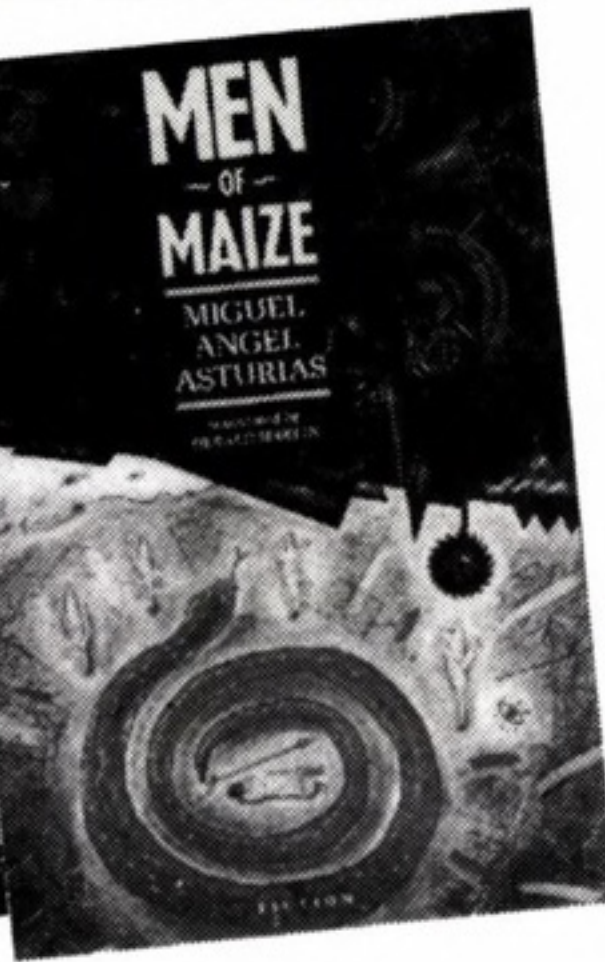


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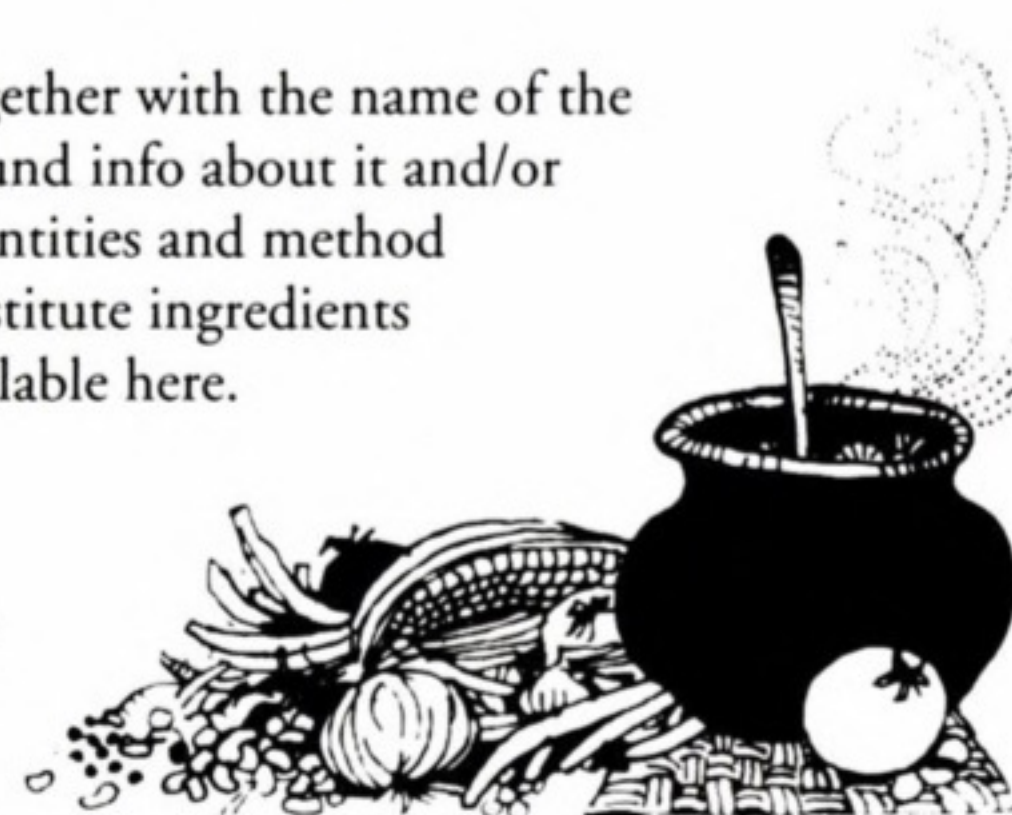
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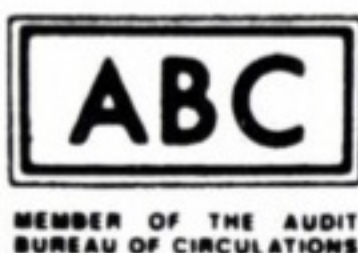
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A NEW VISION



New Internationalism for New Times...

"Recognising that existing patterns of development, use of resources, inequalities and militarisation threaten the human race and the entire planet with devastation we aim:

To work with other national and international forces who broadly share this vision and these values to create a set of global standards of security, equity, sustainability and democratic control in the use and reproduction of the world's resources.

To demonstrate practical and political solidarity with peoples throughout the world struggling against exploitative power relationships.

To seek a sustainable redistribution of the world's wealth and resources to end famine and poverty.

To bring global pressure to bear on: states whose people are oppressed by autocratic regimes or where human and democratic rights are threatened; states or institutions which threaten or violate the independence and sovereignty of others.

To support the peoples of the world in ending the practice of racism.

To work for policies and campaigns which oppose the exploitation of the less developed world by the developed world and which counter the power of multi-national companies and financial institutions."

Extracts from the draft constitution for the proposed *Democratic Left*, published by the Communist Party in Transformation.

- ☐ Rush me my transformation information including the new draft constitution
- ☐ Keep me in touch with the Communist Party in Transformation
- ☐ I would like to join the Communist Party in Transformation and help shape its future

Name _____

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Return to: Communist Party in Transformation,
FREEPOST, London N1 9BR or Tel: 071-278 4443

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- Hikers ready to cry wolf
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"Our willingness to tackle one of the greatest humanitarian challenges of this century is not only a test of our commitment to human rights and our belief in the fundamental worth of the human person; it is also a step towards building a better and safer world."

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Cheques payable to UNA Trust Refugee Appeal.

Send to: Refugee Appeal, Room N, UNA Trust, 3 Whitehall Court, London SW1A 2EL.

At the request of UNHCR, 20% of your donation will be used to raise awareness of global refugee issues here in the UK.





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NI

THIRD WORLD ALMANAC



Organise your days with this unique photo diary

NI 1992 THIRD WORLD ALMANAC

THIS photo diary contains 53 black and white images, caught through the lens of some of today's best photographers – each picture giving a social comment. The week-to-view diary gives generous space for your appointments, and opens up into a unique triangular presentation so the pages can be propped open by the phone. Size? At 4 1/2" x 8 1/4" it's comfortable on the desk or in a bag. The spiral binding ensures the Almanac stays open and is easy to write in.

FEATURES INCLUDE:

- Great photos to enjoy each week
- 53 telling quotations to inspire, amuse or appal
- Useful UN statistical information on the world's people
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- A fold-out personal budget sheet, for finance planning

NEW this year:

- Full colour world map for reference inside
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A really practical, attractive and distinctive personal organiser.

UK £7.95 Can/US \$14.95

THE NI FOOD BOOK



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Sending Best Wishes

THIRD WORLD GREETING CARDS

TEN full-colour cards featuring two of each of the five best calendar photos plus envelopes in a handy wallet. Blank inside for your message, the cards can be sent at Christmas and all the year round for birthdays and other special occasions. Each card carries a detailed caption about the photo and measures 3 3/4" x 8 1/4". They represent exceptionally good value. Pack of ten plus envelopes.

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THE NI FOOD BOOK

Great meals to eat

RECIPES from Africa, Asia, Latin America and the Middle East for Western kitchens with country information and food facts. Some of the best cooking in the world goes on in the Andes, the villages of Africa, and on the plains of India. Now collected together in THE NI FOOD BOOK

are some of the Third World's tastiest dishes for you to cook. This attractive wipe-clean hard cover publication with red ribbon marker features over 200 easy-to-follow recipes, including sections on vegetarian dishes, meat and fish foods, starters, salads and desserts. Photographic representation includes 10 full-page colour plates and numerous illustrations.

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Give a fresh angle on the world

The NI 1992 THIRD WORLD CALENDAR

will be the tenth that we have published. During these ten years it has established itself as ... well, special. If you've seen it before, you'll be pleased to see it again, noting how fresh, attractive and informative it is. If you've never come across the calendar, you will be in for a treat.

10th
Anniversary
OF A VERY
SPECIAL
CALENDAR



FREE OFFER



NEW INTERNATIONALIST

The people, the ideas, the action, in the fight for world development

Third World Calendar

NI 1992 THIRD WORLD CALENDAR contains a rich assortment of pictures by the world's best photographers showing Third World people, their work, their culture and their environment. The images take you from the peace and serenity of early morning on the River Ganges at Varanasi to the colourful dyeing of cloth in Lahore; from warm human contact and laughter at a market stall in Bolivia to mischievous children in a hilltop Yemeni village. It all adds up to an original and positive view of people and places too often portrayed as objects of pity or hostility.

TURN OVER THE PICTURE ... and the reverse sides present facts, charts and illustrations on issues like 'Discovery' - the 500th anniversary of Columbus

sighting the Americas; the key development issues for Africa; Arab knowledge and how we are the healthier for it; cotton, the crop that gives a mixed blessing and world cooking - from wok to three-legged pot. Naturally for the tenth birthday of this calendar, we've made sure it is extra special - a celebration of lovely photos and attractively presented information to enjoy all the year. It measures 11" x 22".

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Your reference guide for the New Year

THIRD WORLD GUIDE 91/92

MOVE into the New Year with this excellent reference work - a guide to all the world's nations. A gifted group of Southern journalists, academics, authors and researchers have put together this book, from the viewpoint of the nations of the South. The Third World Guide 91/92 gives you:

- Profiles of 130 countries, with supporting diagrams, graphs and maps.
- 'The Whole World in Figures' ... statistical information on every country's population, health, water facilities, education, life expectancy, literacy, armed forces, trade and international debt.
- Exploration of more than 40 development themes with pie charts, graphs and diagrams.

This all adds up to more than 612 pages of global information with 285 maps, 700 diagrams, over 10,000 references and a healthy 17-page easy-to-use index cross-referenced on theme and country - giving you instant access to a wealth of facts.

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Third World Guide 91/92



The English found a commodity that could be traded with China to pay for the Chinese silk, tea and porcelain products to which they had long been accustomed. It was the English who first introduced the opium trade to China, and then to the rest of the world.

The World as seen by the Third World

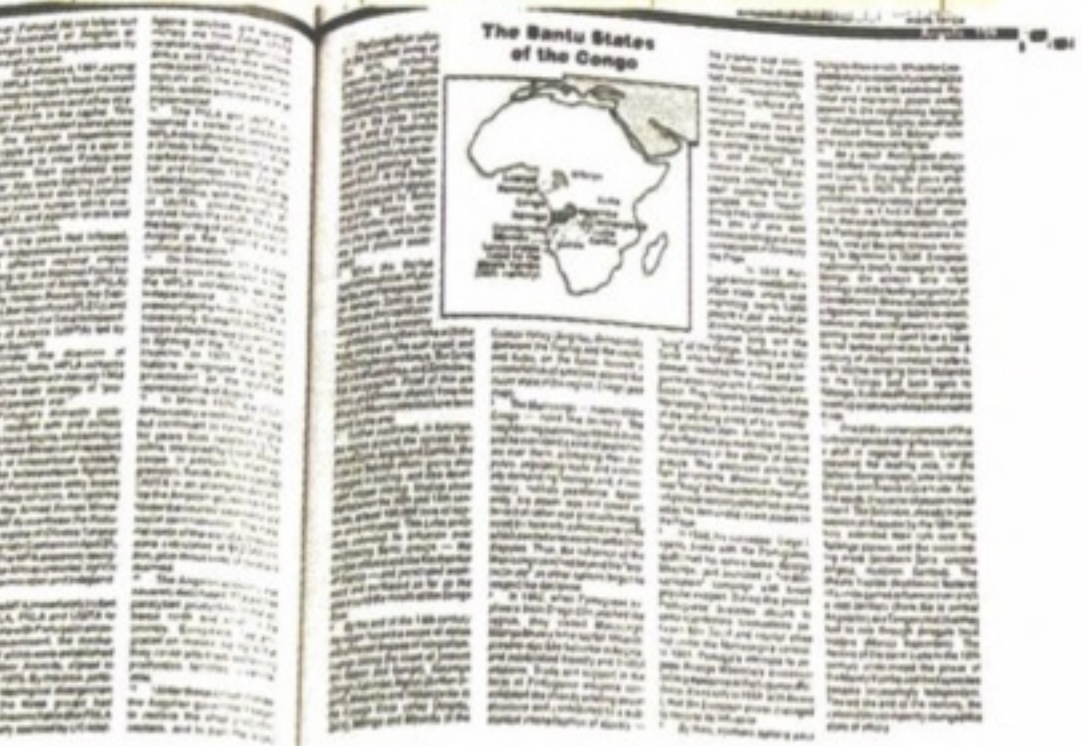
Some 12 million of the world's six million residents live in the Third World. The Third World is a term used to describe the countries of the South, the developing countries, the countries of the Third World.

While indigenous and traditional food production practices are still half a century old, the Third World is now producing more food than it can consume. The Third World is now a major exporter of food.

Facts, Figures, Opinions

Perhaps one of the most interesting examples of the Third World's growth is the rapid increase in its population. In 1950, the Third World population was 1.2 billion. By 1980, it had risen to 2.5 billion. By 2000, it is expected to reach 4 billion.

The Third World is a term used to describe the countries of the South, the developing countries, the countries of the Third World. It is a term used to describe the countries of the South, the developing countries, the countries of the Third World.



Some different angles for the Christmas season

GREEN CHRISTMAS CARDS

SEND your friends a smile when you send them a card.

- How about a nut-roast this Christmas? (inside) *Wishing you an alternative Christmas*
- Robin red breast and paint pot (inside) *Here's to a green Christmas*
- Snowpeople against global warming (inside) *Have a cool yule*

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